THE KAVERI, THE MAUKHARIS AND THE SANGAM AGE

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PREFACE

THIS book is a by-product of a critical study of Jayaṅgoṇḍāṉ's *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi* which I undertook in 1922 to help my friend, Pandit A. Gopala Aiyar, to solve the numerous historical problems which he encountered in editing it. Originally intended for publication in his edition as a short comment on one of the many difficult stanzas of that poem, the paper came to cover all the references in early Tamil literature to the north Indian expeditions of the kings of the Tamil country, though it retained, unfortunately, its original character of a note on that one stanza. As an attempt at readjusting the stress seemed to me to require a length of time which circumstances forbid me now to spare, I have had regretfully to content myself with a revision which does not remedy what is perhaps a defect in the presentation of the theme. Further, the main thesis could not be sustained without an examination of two issues of a subsidiary character, but owing to total neglect or inadequate discussion by previous writers, both these issues had to be canvassed at such length that it became necessary to ensure clarity of presentation by discussing the secondary topics apart from the main thesis itself. I crave the indulgence of the reader for having sacrificed unity for clarity.

The principal features of the main thesis, — the one that stands first in this book, — are an examination of statements in the literature of the Tamil Śaṅgam about the north Indian invasions of Tamil kings, a suggestion that one of these kings, Karikālaṉ, might have conquered a Maukhari chief of Magadha, and an attempt to fix the dates of the invasions, and hence of the Śaṅgam, by reviewing the political condition of the Dekkhan and North India and eliminating all those periods in which Magadha and North Kōśala could not have been successfully invaded. Two subsidiary essays follow : the one on the Kāvēri is an excursus into a subject hitherto untouched, and the other on the Maukharis examines all the material now available and attempts to secure a just appreciation of the greatness of a few kings of that line, — though, perhaps,

at the expense of the great Harsha. It may not be out of place to draw the reader's attention to four footnotes suggesting, respectively, (*a*) the probability of Ādityasēna the Later Gupta having invaded the Chola country, (*b*) an identification of a temple in Malwa as probably the one built by the Malwa kings in honour of the Tamil goddess, 'Our Lady of Chastity,' (*c*) an explanation of the origin of the names Śatakarṇi and Śatavāhana and (*d*) a theory that the Kāvēri might have changed its course some miles to the west of Kumbhakonam.

My thanks are due to Mr. G. Venkoba Rao, the Government Epigraphist for Madras, and Mr. C. R. Krishnamacharlu, B.A., his Chief Assistant, for liberty to use the library of their office and for constant and helpful criticism, to Mr. A. Rangaswami Saraswati, B.A., another Assistant of the Madras Epigraphist, for some points of curious learning, and to Pandit M. Raghava Aiyangar, one of the best of Tamil scholars, for having generously and with unvarying kindness helped me with stimulating discussion and fruitful suggestion. My obligations to a number of other scholars will be found fully acknowledged at appropriate places in the course of this work. I am bound to thank Pandit A. Gopala Aiyar not only for having had the kindness to embody some of my views in a note on Mukari inserted in his edition of the *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi* which was published in the middle of 1923, but also for having been the effective cause of my having started writing down some of the results of my investigations into the history of the Śaṅgam Age.

Though I completed this book, almost in its present form, by the end of October 1923, I could not take it up for revision earlier than the last week of 1924. It is no small gratification to me that in spite of what has been written and published in the interval, especially in regard to north Indian history, I have not had to modify any of my conclusions or add substantially to what I had first written.

LANDON'S GARDENS, KILPAUK,
MADRAS, *January* 13, 1925.

T. G. ARAVAMUTHAN.

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ABBREVIATIONS.

ABI.	*Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute*, Poona.
Aham	*Ahanānūru.*
ASI.AR.	Archæological Survey of India, *Annual Reports.*
ASI.E.AR.	Archæological Survey of India, Eastern Circle, *Annual Reports.*
	Archæological Survey of India, *Reports*, by Sir A. Cunningham, Simla and Calcutta, 1871–87.
ASSI.	Archæological Survey of Southern India.
Bāṇa, *HC.CT.*	Bāṇa, *Harsha Charita*, tr. by E. B. Cowell and F. W. Thomas, London, 1897.
Collins, *GDRD.*	Collins, M., *The Geographical Data of the Raghuvamça and the Daçakumāracarita*, Leipzig, 1907.
EI.	*Epigraphia Indica*, Calcutta.
Fleet, *GI.*	Fleet, J. F., *Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings and their Successors* (*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. iii), Calcutta, 1888.
IA.	*Indian Antiquary*, Bombay.
JASB.	*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Calcutta.
JBBRAS.	*Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Bombay.
JBORS.	*Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Patna.
Jouveau Dubreuil, *AHD.*	Jouveau-Dubreuil, G., *Ancient History of the Deccan*, tr. into Eng. by V.S. Swaminatha Dikshitar, Pondicherry, 1920.
JRAS.	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, London.
Luck. Mus. AR.	Lucknow Museum, *Annual Reports.*
Mani	Sāttanār, *Manimēkalai.*
MER.	The Madras Epigraphist's Reports. Issued formerly as Orders of the Government of Madras on the Reports of the Assistant Archæological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Southern Circle: recently styled, *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy.*
Mys. AS.AR.	Archæological Survey of Mysore, *Annual Report.*
Padirrup...	*Padirruppattu.*
Puram	*Puranānūru.*
QJMS	*Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, Bangalore.
SII.	*South Indian Inscriptions.*
Śilap	Iḷam-Kō-Adigaḷ, *Śilappadikāram.*
Smith, *EHI*³	Smith, Sir V. A., *Early History of India*, 3rd ed., Oxford, 1914.
Sōmadēva, *KSS.T.*	Sōmadēva, *Kathā-Sarit-Sāgara*, tr. by C. H. Tawney, Calcutta.
Sōmadēva, *KSS.TP.*	Sōmadēva, *Kathā-Sarit-Sāgara*, tr. by C. H. Tawney, and ed. by N. M. Penzer as *The Ocean of Story*, London, 1924.
TrAS.	*Travancore Archæological Series*, Trivandrum.
Vaidya, *HMHI.*	Vaidya, C. V., *History of Mediæval Hindu India*, vol. i, Poona, 1921.
ZDMG.	*Zeitschrift der Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Leipzig.

THE KAVERI, THE MAUKHARIS
AND
THE SANGAM AGE.

INTRODUCTION

To the student of South Indian History and of Dravidian culture the most important as well as the most interesting period is that known as the Age of the Tamil Śaṅgam. That the number of litterateurs who flourished in that age was obviously large, that they were in all probability organized in an academy and that the patrons of that academy were the Pāṇḍyas,— kings of one of the three dynasties which, according to tradition, divided south India among themselves,— are among the least important of the claims of that age upon the attention of the historian. Practically the great bulk of what survives of the literature of the early Dravidians is to be found in the literary works which were composed in that age in Tamil. No other literature of the Dravidian peoples is as old as that of the Tamils nor has any of them, whether ancient, mediaeval or modern, approached in excellence the Tamil literature of these early days. The ancient Tamil classics are unique among the literary works of the Dravidians for their antiquity as well as for their quality. Further, they contain true and lively pictures of the life of the Tamil people in a period for which we have no other sources of information; their great value to the historian lies in the fact that most of them are transcripts from the life. But their value to the student of Dravidian culture is that they represent a stage of development in which the southernmost branch of the Dravidians, the Tamils, had come into almost full contact with the Aryan culture from the north and had also had some opportunity, however slight, of coming into touch with the Greeks and the Romans. Their importance is enhanced by their being the only vestiges

Importance of Śaṅgam Age

of the literature of any Dravidian people which dates some nineteen centuries back. The period was also one of a religious welter, for, though Brahmanism had already got a firm grip upon the people, serious rivals to it had risen, in this period, in the two cults of Buddhism and Jainism. None the less, the primitive religion and beliefs of the Tamils still stood their ground and threatened to swallow up the alien creeds which were endeavouring to supplant them. Indeed, the primitive religion has never lost its hold over the lower orders of Dravidian society, though the upper social stratum has had its mental and moral content leavened largely by the Aryan culture,-- whether that culture came in the train of Brahmanism, Buddhism or Jainism. But in the age of the Tamil Śaṅgam the creeds, the beliefs and the practices of the Tamils were in a state of flux owing to the commingling not so much of the two cultures as of the four religions. It was a period of transition as well as of digestion;-- of transition, for the upper classes were passing from a primitive religion dashed with Brahmanism, through the medium of Buddhism and Jainism, into a Brahmanism tinged with a modicum of the primitive religion;— and of digestion, for, the lower orders stood rooted in their own primitive religion, and for the nonce adopted Brahmanism or Buddhism or Jainism, only to lapse in the end into their own primitive religion. So, the Tamil literature of this period preserves to us a picture of a stage through which passed all the Dravidian races of south India. The age of the Tamil Śaṅgam is therefore bound to occupy a very important place in the history of the Dravidian peoples.

Difficulty of fixing date of the Śaṅgam.

Very little is now known of the period of time to which this age is to be attributed. The evidences are scanty and have led to no definite results. A hint here and a suggestion there are all that we have to proceed upon. These have been industriously gathered and subjected to microscopical examination, and many theories have been advanced within the past thirty years. No writer who has handled the subject has, curiously enough, had doubts over the virtue or the wisdom of being positive and assertive. But a hazy synchronism, a doubtful parallelism, a conjectural calculation, an unwanted emendation, a fanciful hypothesis, a disputable identification, a remote probability or an airy generalization are none of them the inflexible props which a theory requires for its validity. No wonder, then, that the age of the Śaṅgam has been dragged to and fro by scholars through a period extending from the 2nd century B.C. to the 8th century A.D.

None of the writers has taken all the facts into consideration, though the facts themselves are few. The fault is not that of the writers, for, in the present state of our knowledge, it is very difficult to be definite on most of the major problems and on many of the minor questions of Indian history, but few are they who could resist the temptation to seek to run the Will o' the Wisp to earth. Within the past few years, however, the discussion of the period to which the Śaṅgam is to be assigned has reached a higher level and the problem has been viewed from certain coigns of vantage the most important of which is that which is furnished by the examination of the invasions of south India,— and of the Tamil country in particular,— by the kings and peoples of north India. The two scholars to whom we are indebted for giving this turn to the discussion are Pandit M. Raghava Aiyangar and Professor S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar. The former made a bold and well-conceived inroad into the subject in his monograph on the Chera Śeṅguṭṭuvaṉ, while the latter collected systematically the references in early Tamil literature to the incursions of several of the northern kings into the south of India. On the basis of the conclusions arrived at in the course of their respective enquiries each of them has tried to pin the age of the Śaṅgam to a definite period of Indian history, but the conclusions of neither of them can be taken to be final, for they leave unexplained many an important point. South Indian invasions of north Indian kings.

Much further enquiry remains yet to be undertaken and it would be quite premature now to postulate a solution which would meet all the points on which opinion has been very sharply divided. One striking proof of the incompleteness of the investigation conducted so far into this knotty problem is furnished by the fact that while these two writers have examined the invasions of south India by the kings of northern India they have not touched either upon the possibility of the north of India having been invaded by the kings of the Tamil land or upon the implications which follow from an acceptance of such a possibility. Their failure to estimate the historical value of the invasions of north India by the southern kings is sufficient proof of the soundness of the contention that the time for a comprehensive examination of the question of the age of the Tamil Śaṅgam is not yet. For many years to come we shall have to be content mainly with an examination of fractions and facets of the problem. North Indian invasions of Tamil kings.

Our object here is to study the various references in Tamil literature bearing upon the incursions of various Their date and the Śaṅgam Age.

Tamil kings into north India and to estimate their probative value, and with their aid to determine the period in which the Tamil Śaṅgam flourished. In one of the works of this age, the *Śilappadikāram*, we find references to the Tamil king Karikālaṉ having invaded north India as far indeed as the Himālayas, established friendly relations with the kings of Avanti and Vajra and conquered Magadha, to another Tamil king, Śeṅguṭṭuvaṉ, having more than once won his way north to the very foot of the Himālayas and on one occasion defeated the princes of North Kōśala, and to Śeṅguṭṭuvaṉ's father, Imayavarambaṉ, having incised his crest on that great chain of mountains which forms the northern wall of India. Minor poems of that age included in the *Pattuppāṭṭu*, the *Padiṟṟuppattu* and the *Ahanāṉūṟu* speak of these achievements of Śeṅguṭṭuvaṉ and his father. How far it is possible to accept these invasions of north India by the kings of the Tamil countries as facts of history and in what age these may be held to have taken place are questions which have an intimate bearing on the determination of the age of the Tamil Śaṅgam. In a Tamil work of some centuries later, the *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi*, a story is found,— and it is a story which was current in the Chola court,— of Karikālaṉ having had a feudatory of the name of Mukari whom he had to condemn to deprivation of an eye for having failed to follow the example of other feudatories in working personally at the building of flood-banks for the Kāvēri. No king of the name of Mukari being known to have ruled in south India, we are forced to cast our eyes much farther afield to find out who that Mukari could have been. If we could put together the facts that Mukari was a feudatory of Karikālaṉ and that Magadha was among Karikālaṉ's conquests, and add to them the further facts that certain kings belonging to a race known as the Maukharis were ruling, off and on, in Magadha and that *Maukhari* might assume in Tamil the form *Mukari*, there is some room for the conjecture that the Mukari of the *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi* might be one of the Maukharis of Magadha. The result would, then, be that Karikālaṉ's conquest of Magadha spoken to by the *Śilappadikāram* would stand confirmed by the *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi*. Once Karikālaṉ's expedition against the north of India is taken as proved it would follow that the invasions of the north with which Śeṅguṭṭuvaṉ and Imayavarambaṉ are credited deserve to be studied with care as containing the elements of probability. These three kings, Karikālaṉ, Imayavarambaṉ and Śeṅguṭṭuvaṉ are among the great kings eulogised in verses which profess to be the compositions of their protégés and to belong to the literature of the age

of the Śaṅgam. These three kings are also known to have flourished within a period of some twenty-five years of one another. It follows therefore that all that we need do to fix that period of the Śaṅgam in which these three kings flourished within about twenty-five years of one another is to ascertain that period in the history of India in which kings of the far south would have been able to march north as far as Magadha, and even farther north, and to win victories and make conquests in north India. The armies of south India could not have gone to so distant a country as Magadha or North Kōśala, passing through the lands of other peoples and other kings, had not the political condition of north India and of the intervening countries been such that little effective opposition was possible. If we could find a period of about fifty years in which the countries of the Gangetic basin and the countries between it and south India were reduced to a state of such helplessness that south Indian armies were able to march up to North Kōśala or Magadha and inflict defeats crushing enough to compel the rulers of those countries to submit to the suzerainty of the kings of the very distant Tamils, then we may be certain that it was in that period that the Śaṅgam flourished. We may therefore eliminate every period in which there were powers strong enough, in the countries of the Gangetic basin and in the countries on the way, to withstand the forces of any invader from the far south. Approaching the problem of the Age of the Śaṅgam along this line of enquiry we may be able to reach conclusions helpful in our search for a valid solution.

The story of the building of flood-banks for the Kāvēri makes it necessary for us to enquire closely into the history of that river and also into the validity of an interpretation which took it for granted that Mukari is not the name of a feudatory king but the name of a place which stood on the banks of the Kāvēri. But again, the history of the Maukharis of north India has not been yet studied with the thoroughness necessary for our purpose, and we have in consequence, to re-examine the facts so far known about them and, in fact, to re-write their history in the light of the latest available information. These two subjects ought naturally to be treated as side-issues in an essay on the Age of the Śaṅgam. But, even as side-issues, they required such detailed examination as to out-grow the limits to which discussions of side-issues ought to be confined. The main theme would have been lost sight of had the discussions of the history of the Kāvēri and that of the Maukharis been interpolated into the body of the essay on the Śaṅgam,

Two subsidiary themes.

Practical considerations have thus dictated the splitting up of the essay into three parts, the main theme going into the first part and the two side-issues, though no better than mere footnotes to the first, going into the second and the third parts. While, therefore, the latter two parts deal with subsidiary points, the discussion of the main theme will be found in the first.

KARIKALAN, MUKARI

AND

THE SANGAM.

Karikālaṉ is a name famous in Tamil literature and in south Indian history. More than one Chola bore that name with honour and renown, but the most famous of them all is the one who was also the earliest. His was a career full of romance and no bard roamed the Tamil land but tuned his harp to sing his praise. The might of his arm was acknowledged by the sovereigns of the lands about his kingdom and was felt as far north as even the Himālayas The encouragement he gave to the arts of peace is attested to not only by his munificent patronage of poets but also by his transferring his capital from the inland city of Uṟaiyūr to the port of Kāvērippaṭṭiṇam at the mouth of the Kāvēri,[1] evidently with the object of fostering the commerce of his kingdom. So effective was the impetus thus given that in spite of a possible disintegration of his kingdom, shortly after his death, into two halves,[2] the port of Kāvērippaṭṭiṇam continued to be a capital and grew to remarkable prosperity[3] till all too soon it was wiped almost out of existence by what seems to have been a cataclysm. Of the early historical Cholas who are not mere names or shadows, Karikālaṉ was, indeed, the greatest. Posterity knew and judged of him by his conquests and patronage of arts and commerce and by his endeavours to promote the well-being of his subjects. In one part of his territories, Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam, he is said to have settled people in places cleared of forests and to have improved the fertility of the country by constructing tanks.[4] But posterity seems to have thought even more highly of an achievement of his which to us, at this distance of time, seems to be one of little difficulty or significance,— the building of flood-banks for the river Kāvēri. The literature of later days credits him with having raised huge embankments on either side of the Kāvēri to prevent the floods overflowing and causing devastation, and ranks this work of great public utility among the best of his claims to greatness. How

Karikālaṉ built flood-banks for the Kāvēri.

[1] *Pattuppāṭṭu*, ix.(*Paṭṭiṇap-*.): 285. [2] *Śilap.* (*Vēṇil-*.) viii. 3-4.
[3] See the *Śilappadikāram* and the *Maṇimēkalai*.
[4] காடுகொன்று நாடாக்கிக்

does it happen that its memory was green in the minds of the Tamil people for many a century?

The need for the flood-banks.

The Kāvēri was, even in the earliest days, so palpably the source of the fertility of the land through which it ran its course,— in its lower course, the land over which the Cholas held sway for centuries,— that in the earliest Tamil classics that country is referred to as 'the land protected by the Kāvēri,' the Chola is addressed as 'the lord of the Kāvēri of the cool water'[1] and the Kāvēri itself is called 'the damsel constant to the Cholas'[2] and 'the damsel of the fertile Tamil land.'[3] That the Chola country had an abundance of water for irrigation is shown by the very name it bore in those days,— *Puṇal Nāḍu*, 'the land well-watered.' But so often does the river seem to have overflowed its banks and such destruction does it seem on those occasions to have left behind in its wake that the river was often the curse of the country. It has been even suggested that *Puṇal Nāḍu* means 'the land of floods' and that it owed this sobriquet to the over abundance of the Kāvēri.[4] Though floods do not seem to have been the regular visitations which the interpretation 'land of floods' would imply, they do not seem to have lacked capacity for widespread destruction when they did occur.[5] But, even so, the building of embankments along the Kāvēri looks too unimportant to justify the stress laid upon it in later days.

The changes in the Kāveri.

One explanation is to be found in the changes that have come over the Kāvēri itself. So numerous now are the branches that take off from the Kāvēri that the little which is left of the river at Kāvērippaṭṭiṛam is an extremely narrow streamlet which unsuccessfully seeks junction with the sea. To-day the Kāvēri at its mouth at Kāvērippaṭṭiṇam is only a channel a few yards wide and it is rarely that the water in it is sufficient to run along and trickle into the sea; some miles higher up, at Māyavaram, the river is not much more than about twenty yards in width.

[1] See, for instance:

நீயே தண் புனற் காவிரிக் கிழவனை.	*Puṟam*, lviii, i.
காவிரி புரக்கு நன்னாட்டுப் பொருந.	*Ib*, cccxciii. 23.
காவிரி புரக்கு நாடு கிழவோன்.	*Silap*. xxvii. (*Nīrppaḍai*-), 171.

[2] சோழர் தங் குலக் கொடி. — *Maṇi*. (*Padikam*), 23.

[3] தண்டமிழ்ப்பாவை. — *Ib*., 25.

[4] Kanakasabhai Pillai: *The Tamils 1800 Years Ago*.

[5] The floods of June 1924 must have proved conclusively to even the most sceptical mind the appropriateness of the name *Puṇal Nāḍu*.

In the days of Karikālaṉ, however, the Kāvēri must have been markedly different from its present-day representative. The famous Tamil poem, the *Śilappadikāram*, written only two or three decades after Karikālaṉ's death, speaks of 'the big mouth of the blossom-laden Kāvēri,'[1] and the mention which it makes of 'the huge northern bund of the Kāvēri'[2] at Kāvērippaṭṭiṇam is unintelligible if we do not allow that the river at this point was of considerable width and depth. Another poem, the *Maṇimēkalai*, a twin of the former and written almost simultaneously, speaks of 'the Kāvēri of the big port where she presses upon the sea,'[3] and of 'the damsel Kāvēri running due east and appearing near that Kāvērippaṭṭiṇam[4] in an expanse of swelling waters.'[5] A poet, a contemporary of Karikālaṉ, who sang on him an excellent panegyric calls him 'the lord of Kāvērippaṭṭiṇam[6] (which is) graceful with a beauty flung far and wide by the flood-full Kāvēri.'[7] Both the *Śilappadikāram* and the *Ahanāṉūṟu* contain an identical line which says that the 'great river Kāvēri' flowed at its mouth so copiously and with such force as to erode or thin or 'weaken the sea-shore.'[8] Even more direct than these,—indeed quite conclusive,—is the mention in the *Puṟanāṉūṟu* of 'the huge vessel that entered the mouth of the river neither slacking the sail that bellied forth from the mast nor lightening the freight that it bore.'[9] It was not at the mouth alone that the river was wide and deep. We are told, in the *Śilappadikāram*, of 'Kaṇṇaki, her husband and the anchoress,' arriving at a point a few miles from Kāvērippaṭṭiṇam, up the river,

The Kāvēri of Karikālaṉ's days.

[1] தண்ணறுங் காவிரித் தாதுமலி பெருந்துறைப்
புண்ணிய நன்னீர் v. (*Indira-*), 165-6.
See also the extracts immediately following.

[2] கொழும்புனற் காவிரி
வட பெருங் கோட்டுமலர்ப் பொழி னுழைந்து x. (*Nāḍukāṇ-*), 34-5.

[3] கடன் மண்டு பெருந் துறைக் காவிரி v. 39.

[4] The name occurring here, 'Champāpati,' is only an *alias* for Kavērippaṭṭinam, just as 'Puhār' is. I avoid these variants and use the name 'Kāvērippaṭṭiṇam' so as not to perplex the reader with a multiplicity of names.

[5] கரகங் கவிழ்த்த காவிரிப் பாவை
செங் குணக் கொழிகி யச் சம்பாபதி யயற்
பொங்கு நீர் பரப்பொடு பொருந்தித் தோன்ற (*Padikam*), 12-3.

[6] The other name, Puhār, is used here. The appropriateness of Puhār in this context will be appreciated when it is pointed out that it means also 'the mouth of a river.'

[7] காவிரி மண்டிய சேய்விரி வனப்பிற்
புகார்ச் செல்வ *Padiṟṟuppattu*, VIII. lxxiii.

[8] கடற் கரை மெலிக்குங் காவிரிப் பேர்யாறு *Śilap.*, vi (*Kaḍalāḍu-*), 163.
கடற் கரை மெலிக்குங் காவிரிப் பேரியாறு *Aham*, cxxvi, 5.

[9] கூம்பொடு
மீப்பாய் களையாது மிசைப்பரந் தோண்டாது
புகாஅர்ப் புகுந்த பெருங் கலம் xxx. 10-2.

and 'crossing by a boat the wide ford of the great river Kāvēri and reaching the spotless southern-bank,'—a statement which is all the more illuminating because of the words standing here for 'a great river'[1] being identical with the words applied later on in that very poem to the Ganges. The inference that if the Kāvēri, some distance above Kāvērippaṭṭiṇam, was not as wide as the Ganges it was at least a river of much width and depth may, therefore, be permitted as quite a justifiable one. The extracts brought together in this paragraph leave little doubt about the condition of the Kāvēri in the days of Karikālaṉ and his immediate successors; the mouth of the Kāvēri was the seat of a famous port and the river was, even for miles higher up, one of considerable magnitude.

Why the flood-banks were constructed.

The insignificant stream into which the modern Kāvēri sinks gradually from where the Koḷḷiḍam[2] branches off from it at the head of the island of Śrīraṅgam is due to the innumerable branches, large and small, which, taking their source from the main river, flow eastward giving birth to the fertile delta of Tanjore. Many of these branches are known to have been dug within the past one thousand years, but in the present state of our knowledge it is hard to say if many of the major branches were in existence in the days of Karikālaṉ or his immediate successors.[3] In the literature of the Śaṅgam we find a clear reference to the Ariśilāṟu alone.[4] The overflowing of a river of the magnitude of the Kāvēri as it was in the times of Karikālaṉ, with very few branches to relieve the pressure on the main stream, was, therefore, not unnaturally, the cause of extensive devastation.[5] No wonder the grateful people of the

A branch of the Kāvēri.

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[1] கங்கைப் பேரியாற்று xxvi (*Kālkōḷ-*), 176.

[2] The Coleroon.

[3] There are reasons to suppose that some of the fertile parts of the delta, now served by branches of the Kāvēri, were formerly irrigated from tanks.

[4] வம்பணி யுயர் கொடி யம்பர் சூழ்ந்த
வரிசில் *Naṟṟiṇai*, cxli, 10–11.

A poet of the Śaṅgam age goes by the name of Ōḍambōgiyār,—a name which bears a very close resemblance to that of a present-day branch of the Kāvēri called the Ōḍambōkkiyāṟu. If the poet was named after the river or a village on its banks, or even *vice versa*, we may have to infer that we have in his name a proof of the existence, in the Śaṅgam days, of another branch, the Ōḍambōkki. Though we know of another poet of those days, Ariśil-Kiḻār, whose name resembles that of the Ariśilāṟu, Mahāmahōpādhyāya V. Swaminatha Aiyar who combines an intimate knowledge of the Tanjore delta with unrivalled scholarship, does not associate Ariśil-Kiḻār with the Ariśilāṟu but suggests that he might have belonged to Ariyalūr, a place north of the Koḷḷiḍam, and therefore far from the Ariśilāṟu; (*Puṟam*, 2nd ed., 14). The existence of the Ōḍambōkki in the days of the Śaṅgam must naturally be treated as entirely unproven.

Another branch.

[5] In an inscription at Tiruveṇgāḍu in the Shiyali taluk of the Tanjore district, we are casually informed of 'a new (flood) embankment substantially built on the side of the Kāvēri river, the old one having evidently breached and covered with sand the

Chola country accounted the raising of the flood-banks among the most emphatic of Karikālaṉ's claims to immortality and set it on a level with his many and glorious conquests.

Why were the flood-banks remembered?

Sufficient though it might be, was it the only reason why the flood-banks of Karikālaṉ were tenaciously remembered by his subjects? For an answer we may turn to an examination of the various authorities speaking to this achievement of Karikālaṉ. In them we find not only confirmation of many of the statements already advanced but also hints for points to be raised presently.

Epigraphic references to the flood-banks.

What seems to be the earliest of many epigraphic references is to be found in a copper-plate grant of Puṇyakumara who, at the close, probably, of the eighth century A.D., ruled over areas lying in and between what are now known as the Cuddapah and Nellore districts.[1] This king Puṇyakumara claiming to be a descendant of Karikālaṉ, expatiates on Karikālaṉ's greatness and speaks of him as 'the doer of many deeds such as the stopping the overflow over its banks of the (waters of the) daughter of Kavēra, (*i.e.*, the Kāvērī).'[2] In an inscription[3] of the thirteenth year of the reign of the Chola king Rājakēsarivarman, identifiable with Rājakēsarivarman Gaṇḍarāditya (*circa* 966 A.D.), we find 'the embankment of Karikālaṉ' mentioned as one of the boundaries of a piece of land 'cleared of its borders and mounds and converted into a wet field' in the village of Tiruneyttāṉam, (the modern Tillastāṉam),[4] in Poygai-nāḍu. In a grant issued by Rājarāja's successor, Rājēndra-Chola I, in 1018–9 A.D., Karikālaṉ is spoken of as having 'established his glorious fame by constructing embankments of the Kāvērī.'[5] A copper-plate grant of 1044 A.D.,—the date of the formal execution of an earlier grant of lands by the great Rājarāja I

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neighbouring lands under cultivation'; the repairs 'were recognized to be of so much importance at the time, that even a small cess' called காவேரிக் கரைத் தேவை மன்று 'seems to have been raised on this account' (*MER.* 1919, p. 100, para. 26). The Government Epigraphist says that the occurrence of this inscription at Tiruveṇgāḍu shows that 'the reference must evidently be to an embankment on the Coleroon which branches off from the Kāveri near Trichinopoly' (*Ib.*). Tiruveṇgāḍu being much nearer the Kāveri than the Koḷḷiḍam (the Coleroon), there seems to be no substance whatever in the Government Epigraphist's surmise that though the inscription does specifically speak of the Kāveri, it refers, none the less, to the Koḷḷiḍam. Evidently, he was misled into his conjecture by the patent impossibility of the present day Kāveri,—so insignificant is it in the vicinity of Tiruveṇgāḍu,—breaking through its bunds. Perhaps, even in the times of Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I, to whose days the inscription belongs, the Kāveri had not become reduced, near its mouth, to its present contemptible proportions.

[1] *EI.* xi, 337–346.

[2] *SII.* iii, 249–250.

[3] *Ib.* 339.

[4] *Ib.* ii, (27).

[5] The Tiruvālaṅgāḍu Plates, *SII.* iii, 418.

(987–1013 A.D.) to a Bauddha *vihāra* at Negapatam, — says that Karikālan̤ 'constructed the banks of the Kāvērī.'[1] In two inscriptions of the Telugu king Tammusiddhi, dated in 1207–8 A.D., he claims descent from 'king Kalikāla[2] who constructed the banks of the Kāvērī,'[3] and in another inscription of his of the same year Karikālan̤ is called 'the hero who supplied with banks the daughter of Kavēra'.[4]

Literary references.

Literary works too give support to these statements. A famous Tamil classic, the *Vikkirama-Sōḻan-Ulā*, written in honour of Vikrama-Chola (1118–36 A.D.) by Oṭṭakkūttan̤, the eminent poet attached to his court, praises Karikālan̤ as 'the lord of earth who constructed the embankments of the Kāvērī.'[5] The date of this poem is not known with precision, but as the author was the Laureate of Vikrama's court it might have been written before Vikrama's death. Another poem, the *Śaṅkara-Śōḻan-Ulā*, of which neither the authorship nor the date of the composition is known with certainty, but which may be taken to belong to the fifteenth century, professing as it does to eulogise one Śaṅkara-Chola, a minor potentate of the period when the Chola power survived ignominiously in insignificant hands, speaks of Karikālan̤ as 'the lord of earth who constructed strong banks for the Kāvērī in which the billows raged uncurbed by the weak banks on either side.'[6] If the Telugu poem, the *Narasabhūpālīyamu*, a very late work, may be relied on, Karikālan̤ seems also to have 'planted rows of avenue-trees on either bank of the Kāvērī in order to hide her "who was the queen of the ocean" from the public gaze.'[7]

Conclusions.

The conclusions are obvious that a well-authenticated tradition was current in many parts of south India that Karikālan̤ had raised embankments for the Kāvēri, that the tradition was accepted not only in the Tamil but in the Telugu land as well, that the Telugu descendants of Karikālan̤ set as much store by this achievement as his Tamil descendants, that the raising of the embankments was always looked upon as establishing his greatness and that the tradition was as old at least as Puṇyakumara who has been attributed to the close of the eighth century.

The larger Leiden Grant, *ASSI*. iv, 217.
The first *l* in this form is a variant of the *r* of 'Karikāla'.
EI. vii, 119–128. [4] *Ib*. 148–152.
பொன்னிக் கரைகண்ட பூபதி : verse 13.
ஈரருகு மென்கரை செய்யா தெதிர் திரைக் காவேரிக்குத் திண்கரை செய்த நராபதியும்.
[7] Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri in *EI*. xi, 340, *n*. 2.

Statements found in some other records and literary works afford further information and serve to set the raising of the embankments in a new light. From them we get a glimpse of the means used by Karikālaṉ to build the embankments, and they seem to reveal to us not only a Karikālaṉ anxious for the prosperity of his country but also a Karikālaṉ who did not shrink from yielding to what was probably the way of his times in publicly abasing the kings whose misfortune or incapacity had brought them under his yoke, if it was necessary for the due enforcement of the responsibilities of sovereignty. An incident.

The conclusion has been reached, from a consideration of some Ceylon chronicles, at least the more reliable of which were in existence from the fifth century A.D., and of various ballads and stories current in Ceylon, that Karikālaṉ invaded that island, carried away many thousands of captives,— some authorities would put the number at 12,000,— and set them to work on the construction of the banks which extended along the course of the river to a distance of about one hundred miles from its mouth.[1] Striking confirmation of part of this story is furnished by the inscription already noted, mentioning the embankment of Karikālaṉ as having existed at about the close of the tenth century at Tillastāṇam,—a village which indeed stands on the banks of the Kāvēri at a point about sixty miles from the mouth.[2] Length of the flood-banks.

Even the kings subordinate to Karikālaṉ seem to have been compelled to help in the raising of the banks. Inscriptions of the Telugu-Cholas who claim Karikālaṉ for an ancestor state that he 'caused the banks of the (river) Kāvērī to be built by Trilōchana and other kings who fixed their eyes on (his) lotus feet (*i.e.*, were subordinate to him).'[3] It is just likely that nothing more is meant here than that the feudatories had to furnish workmen, but the Feudatories help to raise them.

[1] Kanakasabhai Pillai, *The Tamils 1,800 Years Ago*, 8–9.

[2] In Kashmir, an engineer of the name of Suyya, employed by King Anantavarman, (855–883 A.D.) 'had stone walls constructed to protect (the river Vitastā) against rocks which might roll down', and 'wherever he knew inundation-breaches (to occur) during disastrous floods, there he constructed new beds for the Vitastā'; further, 'after constructing stone embankments for seven yojanas along the Vitastā, he dammed in the waters of the Mahāpadma lake:' (Kalhaṇa's *Rājatarangiṇi*, v, 92, 95, 103). Sir Aurel Stein estimates this distance at 42 miles. The comparison with the building of the Kāvēri embankments is sufficiently obvious. A Kashmir parallel.

[3] *EI.* xi, 340, *n.* 2. These inscriptions have not yet been published, but Mr. Krishna Sastri is evidently quoting from versions available to him in his collection when he was the Madras Epigraphist. One of these is No. 183 of 1899 dated Śaka 1146 or 1244 A.D.; see *MER.*, 1900, p. 37. In the note above cited, Mr. Sastri says that 'almost all the families of kings and chiefs in the south which trace their origin to the sun mention Karikāla among their ancestors and describe him as having constructed banks on either side of the river Kāvēri.'

tradition current in the Tamil country goes further and makes the feudatory princes themselves carry baskets of earth for the embankments. An inscription of the seventh year of the reign of king Vīrarājēndra (1062-1070 A.D.) is quite explicit: 'He (Karikāla) who was as bright as the Sun and who curbed the pride of the insubordinate, prevented the Kāvēri,—which by its excessive floods caused the earth to be deprived of its produce,—by means of a bund formed of earth thrown in baskets carried in hand by (enemy) kings.'[1] This record, however, does not mention the names of the kings so employed,— not even the name of Trilōchana.

Karikālan and Mukari.

A Tamil poem of remarkable beauty, the *Kalingattupparaṇi*, in which the author, Jayangoṇḍāṉ, eulogises his patron, Kulōttunga-Chola I (1070-1120 A.D.), for having conquered Kalinga,—a poem which is said to have pleased Kulōttunga greatly,—contains a canto in which is traced Kulōttunga's descent. In this genealogy Karikālaṉ naturally finds a place, and Jayangoṇḍāṉ speaks of him as follows:

தொழுது மன்னரே கரைசெய் பொன்னியிற்
றொடர வந்திடா முகரி யைப்படந்
தெழுது கென்றுகண் டிதுமி கைக்கணென்
றிங்க ழிக்கவே யங்க ழிந்ததும்.[2]

Translated into English, the stanza runs thus: '(He recorded further) how (Karikālaṉ) directed a *portrait*[3] to be drawn of the Mukari *who had not followed* (*the others*) *to* the Kāvēri the banks of which were being made by kings themselves who had made obeisance (to him) and how looking at it and saying "this is a superfluous *eye*," he rubbed it out here and (lo!) it was extinguished there.' Obviously we have in Mukari the name of a person, a king in all probability, on whom had been laid the duty of helping in the construction of the banks.

Mukari,—person or place?

This interpretation differs markedly from another[4] according to which Mukari was the name of a place and not of a person. An

[1] The Kanyākumari inscription: *TrAS*, iii, 154-5.

[2] I am quoting from the valuable edition recently brought out by Pandit A. Gopala Aiyar, in which this stanza is numbered 184. The Pandit adopts the reading கண்டிலை மிகைக் கண் in the third line, but I prefer இது to இலை, not only because the latter is not to be found in any of the manuscripts but also because the former, as will be clear presently, is more adverse to my contentions than the other.

[3] In this rendering and in the following one I am italicising the crucial words with a view to bringing out prominently the points of difference.

[4] Advanced by an able scholar, V. Kanakasabhai Pillai. He gave a loose translation in *IA.*, xix. 331, the text followed by him, at p. 341, being practically identical with that of V. G. Suryanarayana Sastri in the edition of this poem which he brought out shortly after; but I may point out that the differences in the readings are not responsible for the differences in interpretation.

English rendering of the stanza which, while being not only parallel to the one already given is also closer to the original than his and yet preserves the meaning he would read into it, is this: '(He recorded further) how (Karikālaṉ) directed a *plan* to be drawn of the Mukari *which impeded the continuity of* the Kāvēri, the banks of which were being made by kings themselves who had made obeisance (to him) and how looking at it and saying "this is a superfluous *place*," he rubbed it out here and (lo!) it was extinguished there.' We have to assume here that the place Mukari,— it might have been a village or a town,— stood in the way of the bank being laid in a continuous, uninterrupted, line. In this sense Mukari would have been a hindrance and, hence, a superfluity.

Source of the ambiguity.

The crucial word is *kaṇ*, which unfortunately for an unambiguous interpretation of the stanza, means 'place' as much as 'eye,' and the ambiguity is increased by the fact that *paḍam* may with equal appropriateness be applied to a 'portrait' as well as to a 'plan.' But the phrase *toḍara vandiḍā mukari* means clearly, 'the Mukari who did not follow,' and even by a process of torture we cannot extract from it the meaning, 'the Mukari which impeded continuity.' Possibly the latter meaning could be placed upon a reading such as *toḍara varaviḍā mukari*, for which, however, we have absolutely no warrant in the manuscripts. The validity of this latter interpretation depends on Mukari having stood in the way of the continuity of the embankment, but, even granting an amended reading such as the one suggested above, we have to go a step further and read the idea of an embankment into the stanza which at no point affords foot-hold for it. Some support for that interpretation may, however, be sought in the words about the drawing of a *paḍam*. To examine a plan with a view to decide if an alteration of it is possible is quite an intelligible procedure. But, when the ukase of a king fails to bring before him a subordinate on bended knees, what should a portrait of him be painted for? Put thus directly, an answer is not quite easy. We do not know if it was not the way of the kings of those days to attempt to judge of the character of an enemy from his portrait. A portrait is often a guide to a man's character, but when a king grows wroth with a subject, commands afterwards a portrait to be painted and then attempts to judge of the subject's character by looking at that painting, we seem to reach, indeed, the very limit of eccentricity.[1] But the process would not seem to be

[1] I must confess that I have not come across a similar story in any of the Indian literatures. The nearest analogue that I can think of is the story in Sōmadēva's *Kathā-*

radically different from the present-day newspaper reporter noting carefully whether a minister smiled or simpered or frowned or scowled as he left a momentous meeting of the cabinet, 'snapping' the Minister's very gait and publishing picture and 'copy' to the multitude,—the newspaper-man's suzerain,—so that it might acquire the insight necessary for judging of the steepness of the precipice on the edge of which the question at issue stands poised. Or, perhaps, the stanza refers to some practice of witchcraft grounded in the belief that evil could be wrought to a person by appropriate ceremonies performed before his portrait. This may be a more satisfactory explanation of why a portrait was ordered and how Mukari's eyes were blinded with that extreme rapidity which Jayaṅgoṇḍāṉ's language implies. Notwithstanding the seeming appropriateness of this suggestion we cannot be sure that even in ancient times, when witchcraft was firmly believed in and widely practised, a king who acquired a reputation for using it against an enemy would not thereby have lost irretrievably what credit he might have fairly and openly won on the battlefield.[1] Witchcraft against an enemy might be a practice meeting with the approval of a Chāṇakya, but we find nothing Chāṇakyan in Karikālaṉ's character. For our purpose, however, the question whether Karikālaṉ's weapon was witchcraft or not is immaterial. Howsoever the blinding of Mukari was effected and whether his portrait was ready to hand or had to be painted in the intense moment of Karikālaṉ's wrath, there can be no doubt that Mukari was a feudatory of Karikālaṉ, for, otherwise he would not have been summoned to take part in the raising of the embankments. We may have no means of knowing who he was or how he became a feudatory, but there can be no doubt of the implication, in Jayaṅgoṇḍāṉ's lines, of the fact of subordination.

Is Mukari a place?

We do not know that a place of the name of Mukari did at any time stand upon the Kāvēri. Further, to make Mukari a place

Sarit-Sāgara in which the princess Madanasundari had merely heard of the beauty of king Kanakavarsha and yet was able to make the painter, Rōladēva of Ujjayini, paint a remarkable likeness of him by doing no more than 'slowly tracing out the form on the ground with trembling, nectar-distilling hand, to guide' him (*KSS. T.*, i. 539-540). But, I do not disguise even to myself that the resemblance is very faint indeed.

[1] How strongly public opinion in India condemned resort to doubtful expedients for worsting an adversary is evident from a passage in Sōmadēva's *Kathā-Sarit-Sāgara*: 'Then Vikramāditya, not having gained his end, thought—"Well! as that enemy is not to be conquered by arms, I will conquer him by *policy*; *let some blame me if they like*, but let not my oath be made void."' (*KSS. T.*, i. 347). The public opprobrium which would have met a king who practised *witchcraft* was certainly not likely to have been less than that which was the share of one who used *policy*.

would be to assume that Jayaṅgoṇḍāṉ considered that the destruction of a village or town was an act redounding to Karikālaṉ's credit and was worthy of being immortalised in his glorious verse. Had the place been destroyed in a war both king and poet would have been justified in finding in it a theme for as glorious a panegyric as the poet could have been inspired to by an appreciation of his patron's victory or by a lively anticipation of his munificence. Were we to take it that the poet's object was merely to emphasise the greatness of Karikālaṉ by pointing to the despatch with which his veriest whims were executed, the poet must indeed have regretted that he could not say of Karikālaṉ that no sooner had he demolished the town at its original seat than he had it restored at a more convenient spot,—an achievement which, indeed, would have been stronger testimony to Karikālaṉ's power. Had truth stood in the poet's way in claiming such an achievement for his patron, he would certainly not have thought of the destruction of a town,—albeit for rectifying the course of the embankments of a river,— as a fitting tribute to the power of his patron.[1]

The contention that Mukari stands for the name of a person, besides being more satisfactory than the other, is borne out strikingly by two literary works later than the *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi*. Other references.

Two lines in the *Kulōttuṅga-Śōlaṉ-Ulā* of Oṭṭakkūttaṉ refer to Karikālaṉ as 'the Śeṉṉi (Chola) who put out the eyes of him who did not come with earth carried on (his) head for building the banks of the Kāvēri.'[2] Let us examine how far this verse may be worthy of being relied upon. Jayaṅgoṇḍāṉ in the *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi* having made his patron Kulōttuṅga Chola the hero pays lavish tributes to his son, Vikrama Chola, and to his minister, Karuṇākara, who both had conducted the campaign against Kaliṅga to a successful issue. The *Ulās* of Oṭṭakkūttāṉ.

¹ For a fuller discussion of the possibility of a place called Mukari having stood on the banks of the Kāvēri, see the accompanying paper, 'The Kāveri and Mukari.'

²
தலையேறு
மண்கொண்டு பொன்னிக் கரைகட்ட வாராதாற்
கண்கொண்ட சென்னிக் கரிகாலன். verse 18.

The reading given here is supported by all the manuscripts to which I have had access. This poem and the *Rājarāja-Śōlaṉ-Ulā* have not yet appeared in print. The few manuscripts of these now available are not very satisfactory. For many years we have been awaiting the edition of the three *Ulās* promised by that *doyen* of Tamil studies, Mahāmahōpādhyāya V. Swāminātha Aiyar, to help whom in which, indeed, the late T. A. Gopinatha Rao wrote his short brochure on the Cholas some fifteen years ago. Surely it is a misfortune that the Mahāmahōpādhyāya's other literary commitments have left him little leisure to redeem his promise.

Vikrama, evidently after his accession to the throne, was made the subject of a panegyric in the *Vikkirama-Śōlaṉ-Ulā* by the poet Oṭṭakkūttaṉ. Vikrama was succeeded by his son, Kulōttuṅga-Chola II, and in the same literary type, the *Ulā*, Oṭṭakkūttaṉ wrote an eulogy on him too, the *Kulōttuṅga-Śolaṉ-Ulā*,—the poem in which occur the lines just quoted. Kulōttuṅga II's son, Rājarāja II, succeeded his father, and Oṭṭakkūttaṉ, the courtier that he was, came ready with a third *Ulā*, the *Rājarāja-Śōlaṉ-Ulā*, in praise of this his third patron. Tradition speaks of him not merely as the protégé and panegyrist of these three sovereigns but also as their court-poet. In every one of these *Ulās* he gives a long genealogy of the Cholas, much in the manner of the one in the *Paraṇi* and of those, for example, in the Leyden, Tiruvālaṅgāḍu and Kanyākumari epigraphs, and there can be little doubt that he embodied in the *Ulās* the genealogy then passing current in the Chola court. Not only is the *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi* a work in which praise is lavished on Vikrama, the prince who as king became the first subject of Oṭṭakkūttaṉ's eulogy, but it is also a masterpiece which well can vie with others of its kind in any other literature. In the present state of our knowledge of the Tamil literary history of this period it is doubtful in the extreme if any other original work approaching it, even distantly, in excellence was produced at this time.[1] Apart, however, from such indirect evidence tending to show that Oṭṭakkūttaṉ knew of Jayaṅgoṇḍāṉ's *Paraṇi* we have the positive evidence furnished by the former himself in one of his *Ulās* in which he speaks of it as the 'great *Paraṇi*' and in another of his poems where he calls it the 'divine *Paraṇi*.' It is inconceivable, therefore, that he could have been unaware of the verses in the *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi* in which Mukari's abasement is told, and that the story which he himself was enshrining in the *Kulōttuṅga-Śōlaṉ-Ulā* had been once before narrated by Jayaṅgoṇḍāṉ. We shall not therefore lack justification if we interpreted the ambiguities in the stanza from the *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi* in the light of the verses from the *Kulōttuṅga-Śōlaṉ-Ulā*.

Another authority.

The second work which throws light on the matter is the *Iraṅgēśa-Veṇbā* of Śānta-kavirāyaṉ, a poet of much later times. Taking

Tamil literature in Jayaṅgoṇḍāṉ's days.

[1] I am discussing elsewhere the possibility of all books except the last one of the *Tirumuṟai* having been reduced by Nambi-Āṇḍār-Nambi into a canon in this period. If Nambi-Āṇḍār-Nambi could be attributed to this period and if Jayaṅgoṇḍāṉ's *Paraṇi* could legitimately be compared with the former's original poems,—which not only belong to an entirely different *genre* but also are the products of a different *motif*,—there can be no doubt that, as literature, the works of the former are much the superior.

advantage of the facts that the *kuṟaḷ* of Tamil prosody is only the last two lines of a *veṇbā*,—or rather, that the *veṇbā* is composed of two *kuṟaḷs* with a metrical foot thrown in between,—and that the famous *Tiruk-Kuṟaḷ* is in the *kuṟaḷ* form and therefore lends itself to an attempt to convert it into the *veṇbā* form, this poet laid impious hands on that great classic and overlaid many of its stanzas with his own futile additions. Method, however, there was in this madness; the original stanzas of the *Tiruk-Kuṟaḷ* being each a maxim, this poet set himself to the fantastic task of converting a choice number into *veṇbās*, illustrating each of the chosen maxims with a tale more or less appropriate and, also, interjecting into it an apostrophe to God Raṅganātha. One of the *veṇbās* so manufactured may be translated thus: 'The renowned Chola put out the eyes of him who did not come to build the banks of the Kāvēri; O Lord Raṅga! What secures victory is not the spear that has made many a wound, but the king's sceptre,—and even that,—only when it is not bent (*i.e.*, when the kingly power is not used for unrighteous ends)'.[1] So clear is the reference to the story of Mukari's eyes that the absence of the name Mukari does not prevent our immediately identifying it. While, threfore, the tradition in the days of Oṭṭakkūttaṉ and Śānta-kavirāyaṉ was clearly that in Mukari we have a reference to a person punished for disregarding a royal command, no authority whatever is available for the position that the reference is to a village destroyed to facilitate the laying of the embankments, and it has already been shown that the tradition supported by Oṭṭakkūttaṉ must have been the official version of the royal court.

At the first blush it might seem as if this story had grown up in stages into the form in which we have it narrated by Jayaṅgoṇḍāṉ,—from a bald statement about Karikālaṉ having built flood-banks into the ornate story of kings, probably a Trilōchana among them, having themselves carried baskets of earth as common labourers, and the still more ornate and quite shocking tale of Mukari's contumaciousness costing him his eyes at the hands of a madly irate Karikālaṉ. Little reliance could be placed on the story if it should bear traces of accretion. When, however, the various statements are marshalled in chronological order, we Has the story grown up in stages?

[1] On 'Ruling Righteously,' செங்கோன்மை:

கண் கொண்டான் பொன்னிக் கரை கட்ட வாராளை
எண் கொண்ட சோழன் இரங்கேசா—புண் கொண்ட
வேலன்று வென்றி தருவது மன்னவன்
கோலதூஉங் கோடாதெனின். stanza lv.

find the various versions of the story falling into a sequence which affords no basis for supposing that the story has developed in any particular direction. Many of these statements are contained in works or records in verse, written by different poets at different dates, and exigencies of space and metre must have determined greatly the shape which the story assumed in the hands of each poet. Even were the same poet to essay his hand at different compositions of the same type such exigencies as these and a desire to avoid repetition would force him into variations of the kind we are now considering. An apt illustration of this obvious truism is to be found in the treatment of the genealogical details which Oṭṭakkūttaṉ works into his three *Ulās*. In none of them do we find him giving a complete pedigree of the Cholas. True it is that in each he starts with creation itself and runs down to the Chola who at the time was his patron and king,—and he had three in succession,—but he jumps over many an intermediate name, perhaps to keep the pedigree within manageable limits. From the manuscripts now available it seems clear that the names omitted are not always the same and that the poet varies from poem to poem, the details he has to give of them.[1] His treatment of the tradition regarding the building of the embankments of the Kāvēri is equally conclusive, for, we find that in the first of the *Ulās* he says that Karikālaṉ built them, in the second he confirms the story of the putting out of a king's eyes and in the third he refers to Karikālaṉ merely as the Chola who engraved the tiger-crest on Mount Mēru. The suggestion that the story may be a creature of evolution has, therefore, no legs to stand on.

No discrepancies.

Were further argument necessary it would be found in the surprising circumstances that in the fifteen authorities which have been marshalled and examined above, there is not one discrepant statement,—not one averment which negatives another,—and that not one of them countenances the interpretation that would call Mukari a place, while at least two trustworthy authorities support the other interpretation.

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[1] Gopinatha Rao in editing the Aṉbil Plates of Sundara-Chola (*E.I.* xv, 24), noted that that plate and two other copper-plates dealing with the Chola genealogy (the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu and the Leyden grants), 'happen to be compositions of different persons' and that 'therefore the information regarding the legendary portion of the genealogy of the Cholas is somewhat different in each' (p. 45). Seeing that the *Ulās*, undoubtedly the compositions of one and only one poet, are equally guilty in this respect, it is difficult to impute the variations, with Gopinatha Rao, to the grants having been composed by different poets.

Is the story to be treated as quite an improbable one—and untrustworthy in consequence? What is the story? Told in the *Kalingattupparaṇi* in very short compass and yet in some detail, it may be briefly reconstructed in this wise. A call went forth from Karikālaṉ to the peoples and princes subordinate to him, and among them to Mukari too,—quite probably a feudatory prince,—to help in the building of the embankments of the Kāvēri, and the fiat went forth that feudatory princes too were to carry earth, just as common labourers did. Mukari did not turn up, though others did. On Karikālaṉ being informed of Mukari's absence, he directed a portrait of him to be painted so that he might appraise the man aright, and, on being satisfied from an examination of it that Mukari was by nature given to contumaciousness and that his absence must therefore have been of set purpose, Karikālaṉ ordered that Mukari's eyes be put out by way of punishment. No sooner was the sentence pronounced than it was executed. Or, a slight variation may be that Karikālaṉ had a portrait prepared for use in some practice of witchcraft by which he procured the instant blinding of Mukari's eyes.

The story reconstructed.

Would feudatory princes have been compelled to carry earth? A successor of Karikālaṉ many centuries later, Rājēndra-Chola I (1013-1045 A.D.), as great a king as the Chola line did ever produce, seems to have emulated Karikālaṉ and sent his army north in 1023 A.D.,[1] and he claims to have defeated the kings of the north,—among whom were those of Bihar and Bengal,—and it is quite clear that the king of Kanouj admitted his overlordship.[2] His *daṇḍanāyaka*, or commander-in-chief, according to a record of his days, had the water of the Ganges carried to his master by the subjugated kings,[3] or, as an inscription has it, he 'brought the Ganges . . . in pots filled with (its) water, which were carried on the heads of crowned kings.'[4] Leaving apart the other numerous instances that could be cited from various sources or those which pertain to a later age, we may look into the *Śilappadikāram*, a Tamil work of a generation following closely on that of Karikālaṉ. Śeṅguṭṭuvaṉ the Chera king invaded north India, defeated the princes of North Kōśala and made Kanaka and Vijaya,—two of them more unfortunate than the rest,—carry a block of stone which he had taken from the Himālayas to make

Treatment of feudatories.

[1] At any rate, not earlier. *MER.* 1918, p. 145.
[2] Venkayya, *ASI.AR.* 1911-2, pp. 173-5.
[3] Tiruvālaṅgāḍu Plates, *SII.* iii, 424, verse 117.
[4] Kanyākumari inscription, *TAS.* iii, 157, verse 71.

into an image of the Goddess Pattiṇi. They were made, like common labourers, to carry it on their head.[1] Treatment such as this was by no means extraordinary in those early days, for these incidents were, in all probability, mere formalities to evidence the rights of suzerainty. Mediæval Europe saw defeated monarchs being forced to do duty in the households of their victors and to attend on their person, and services of even a menial nature were assigned to peers of the realm by way of feudal obligations. Modern Europe too does not fail to present the edifying spectacle of high-born lords and dames hastening to grovel in the mire so that royalty may be propitiated and claiming with insistence and as a birth-right the opportunity so to grovel.

Was Karikālaṉ cruel?

Would Karikālaṉ have been so cruel as to condemn a recalcitrant chief to deprivation of an eye? Whether the punishment was inflicted by open means or by witchcraft does not really affect the point that Mukari was punished, and punished hard indeed. We have to remember that what looks cruelty to us might have seemed justice, and even righteousness, to the peoples of those days,—even though that righteousness was secured by means so low as witchcraft. The latter-day author of the *Iraṅgēśa-Veṇbā* uses this story, as has been already pointed out, as an illustration of how a king could uphold righteousness. Even so early in Tamil literature as the *Śilappadikāram* we find Śeṅguṭṭuvaṉ the Chera giving expression to the same idea. Being told that some kings of north India had spoken slightingly of the prowess of the kings of the Tamil country, he resolved that he would subdue them and make them carry a block of stone out of which to carve an image of the Goddess Pattiṇi, and he sent up a solemn imprecation that were he to return with a futile sword he might degenerate into a ruler incapable of making his enemies quake and tremble, and given to the ways of a tyrant ruthlessly oppressing his subjects.[2] The horror which kings of ancient India had of tyranny is well

[1] வடபே ரிமயத்து வான்றரு சிறப்பிற்
கடவுட் பத்தினிக் கற்கால் கொண்டபின்
சினவேன் முன்பிற் செருவெங் கோலத்துக்
கனக விசயர்தங் கதிர்முடி யேற்றி. xxvii (*Nirppaḍai-*), 1–4

[2] வடதிசை மருங்கின் மன்னர்தம் முடித்தலைக்
கடவு ளெழுதவோர் கற்கொண் டல்லது
வறிது மீளுமென் வாய்வா ளாகிற்
செறிகழல் புனைந்த செருவெங் கோலத்துப்
பகையர சு நடுக்காது பயங்கெழு வைப்பிற்
குடிநடுக் குறூஉங் கோலே னாகென. xxvi (*Kālkōḷ-*) 13–8

The identical sentiment is given expression to with equal force by 'the Pāṇḍya who won a victory at Talaiyālaṅgāṉam,' in his poem in *Puṟam*, lxxii.

brought out in this prayer and we see also how intimately they connected the possibility of a righteous rule with the necessity of keeping rivals under effective control. Not the arrogance of the vulgar victor nor a craving for parading the vanquished adversary in ignominious plight before the public gaze but this deep-rooted conviction that a king could not manage to rule righteously when he could not make his enemies dread him was the reason for Śeṅguṭṭuvaṉ subjecting Kanaka and Vijaya to treatment which to us has the appearance of mean and wanton cruelty. Karikālaṉ too, as the author of the *Iraṅgēśa-Veṇbā* has brought it out excellently, could only have been actuated by the same motive in sentencing Mukari to condign punishment. Karikālaṉ—and Indian political philosophy too,—would be crassly misunderstood[1] if a parallel were sought to this incident in another which was enacted in a later age and a colder clime,—the wanton murder of Thomas a Becket, almost at the foot of the altar of his own cathedral, by some four knights who rode from France, post-haste, day and night, to carry out the rash but poignant wish of Henry II who, vexed with Becket, had loudly hoped, in a fit of anger, that 'the pack of fools and cowards he had nourished in his house would avenge him of that one upstart clerk.'

Mukari was a person.

The long and tedious examination to which the stanza from the *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi* has been subjected has established conclusively, it may be hoped, the correctness of the contention that Mukari was the name, not of a place, but of a person.

The romance of the flood-banks.

We cannot now fail to see that the Tamil people remembered vividly the building of the embankments of the Kāvēri by Karikālaṉ not merely because of the magnitude of the undertaking and the promptness with which it was executed, nor even because of gratitude for having converted a curse into a boon but because of the very interesting attendant circumstances. Some twelve-thousand captives from Ceylon jostled with kings and chiefs from distant lands in plying spade and shovel for raising embankments which have stood even unto this day. The people knew what punishment had overtaken,—and how swiftly too,—the contumacious recalcitrant.

[1] An examination of this and allied ideas of the ancient political philosophy of the Tamils, their history, implications and consequences will be found in a brochure which I hope to publish shortly as an instalment of a systematic treatise—(portions of which have been in manuscript for many years)—on the political philosophy and the positive polity of the Tamils, based on material found in Tamil literature and inscriptions.

Who was Mukari?

But who was this Mukari who formed the sport of Karikālaṉ's irresistible wrath?

A chieftain.

The word *mukari* comes from no Tamil root and must have been derived from Sanskrit in which language *mukhara* refers to a noisy person, a leader, a principal or a chief. *Mukari* occurs in Tamil as the name of a river, in the combination *Poṉ-mukari*,—'the golden Mukari' or 'the golden, gurgling stream',—the word being used in its primary significance of 'noise-maker'.[1] This river runs to the south of Kāḷahasti, a noted and ancient south Indian city,—one of the great places of south Indian Śaivism,—and is mentioned in the *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi* itself as having been crossed by the hosts of Kulōttuṅga I in their march against Kaliṅga. No connection, however, is traceable between Mukari the river and Mukari the king. As the word could with aptness be applied also to a leader in battle or to a chieftain, it might well have been used as a title and been even gradually transmuted into a proper name. But no south Indian king is known to have borne 'Mukari' either as his personal name or as a title or as other appellation. The use of the word in Tamil in the sense of 'chieftain' or 'minor king' is as old as Jñānasambandha.[2] The wording in the stanza of the *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi* does not make it obligatory on us to seek out a person of the name of Mukari, for it leaves it quite open to us to assume that *mukari* was used quite generally in the sense of a 'chieftain.' If we understand some one who was a chieftain to have given offence to Karikālaṉ and to have been punished condignly therefor, any attempt at identifying the chieftain, on the basis only of the stanza from the *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi*, is bound to be quite fruitless. As chieftains of the Tamil country were also known in those days by the name of the land or the city they held sway over,—the chieftain of Mōhūr, for instance, was referred to simply

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[1] The Sanskrit form of this name, curiously enough, occurs often in colloquial use as *Svarṇamukhi*, and not *Svarṇamukhara*.

[2] மூள்வாயதொழிற்பஞ்சேந்திரியவஞ்ச
முகரிகாண்முழுதுமில்லைவைகியோடி
நாள்வாயுமுழுமுடையமம்மரானை
நடாத்துகின்றீர்க்கு — *Tēvāram*, hymn பொய்ம்மாய, st. 9, p. 719.

The references here and hereafter are to Vaṇṇainagar Swaminatha Pandit's edition (1911), for it is undoubtedly the most scholarly edition available.

I am obliged to Pandit M. Raghava Aiyangar, of the Tamil Lexicon, for this reference. His manuscript index to the rare usages of words and to the historical, geographical and other information in the *Tēvāram*, will, if printed, be a very valuable aid to research.

That the Tamil word *mukari* is derived from the Sanskrit *mukhara* is evident from the former being used in two meanings which correspond to those of the latter.

as Mōhūr,[1] — it might be that the Mukari of our speculations was the chieftain of a place called Mukari. If so, the only further conjectures possible are that that Mukari has disappeared, leaving no trace behind, or that it is identifiable with one of the few places which now bear that name. To suppose, however, that we have here the story of a chieftain whose name even is unknown and even whose seat of power is by no means easy of identification would be to take it for granted that Tamil poets and Telugu kings fondly cherished for centuries the memory of what must have been quite an insignificant episode.

A Western Gaṅga king ?

An early Western Gaṅga king ruling over what is now Mysore went by the name of Mokkara. If we may fancy that *Mokkara*,—the Kanarese form of Sanskrit *Mushkara*,—could be transformed into *Mukari* in Tamil, we would have in Mushkara a king whose subjection would indeed have gone to establish Karikālaṉ's greatness. As this Mushkara's father, Durvinīta, has been proved to have ruled from about 605 to 650 A.D.,[2] Mushkara himself must have come to the throne about the year 650 A.D. Karikālaṉ, however, was very much earlier, for he is mentioned in a hymn of Jñānasambandha[3] who has been assigned to the first half of that century[4]. Nor do any of the records of the Gaṅgas lead us to suspect that Mushkara was subject to Karikālaṉ,—much less that he was treated with severity.

Trilōchana-Pallava ?

Of the feudatories who are said to have helped Karikālaṉ to construct the embankments two only are mentioned by name,—Trilōchana and Mukari. Trilōchana has been held to be 'a mythical ruler of Pallava origin who held sway over the Telugu country at some period of its early history' and 'perhaps, identical with the Trilōchana of the Telugu-Chōḍa inscriptions and with Trinayana-Pallava and Mukkaṇṭi of the Telugu epigraphs' and to have 'flourished about the end of the fifth century A.D.'[5] These identifications are admittedly conjectures with little but similarity of names to support them and they can by no means be taken as established. But, could any one of the name of Trilōchana, Trinētra, Trinayana or Mukkaṇṭi,—whoever might have borne these names, though they had chosen names quite synonymous,—have been our Mukari ? The basis for this query is nothing more

[1] M. Raghava Aiyangar, *Śēraṉ Śenguṭṭuvaṉ*, 32.

[2] Rao Bahadur R. Narasimhacharya, *My. AS. AR.* 1921, pp. 27-9 and *QJMS.* xiv. 22.

[3] See lower down for a discussion of this point.

[4] Venkayya in the *Madras Christian College Magazine*, xi, 280.

[5] Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri in *EI.* x, 340.

significant than that the stanza from the *Kalingattupparaṇi* attributes to Karikālaṉ the remark,—'This eye is superfluous.'[1] Who could have a superfluous eye, it may be asked, except a Trilōchana, that is, a person with three eyes, and is not his contemporaneity with Karikālaṉ established indubitably and is not the date of Karikālaṉ ascertained, in consequence, as at the end of the fifth century? The apparent appropriateness of the questions is really the strongest argument against the implications. The questions require us to assume nothing short of this,—that every one of the name of Trilōchana should have three eyes![2] The occurrence of the name 'Mukkaṇṭi' as a synonym for Trilōchana raises a textual question whether the reading 'Mukari' in the *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi* may not be wrong. If we read 'Mukkaṇṭi' or at least 'Mukaṇṭi' in lieu of 'Mukari', we might be justified in inferring that the *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi* and the inscriptions which speak of Trilōchana-Pallava refer to one and the same person under two names. But the readings *mukkaṇṭi* and *mukaṇṭi* are not only not to be found in any of the manuscripts of the poem but are also quite against metrical requirements. A conjecture that *mukari* was a misreading for *mukaṇi*,— quite a possible copyist's error,—does not take us far unless we take the word to be a contraction of *mukkaṇi*,— a form yielding the Tamil equivalent of the Telugu *mukkaṇṭi* or the Sanskrit *trilōchana*, —a supposition which is not even plausible, for *mukkaṇi* is neuter in Tamil, whereas the equivalent of *trilōchana* must be *mukkaṇaṉ* in the masculine gender. Even were we to grant all the amendments and assumptions necessary to establish the identity of Mukari with Trilōchana, there is little reason why of the many Telugu-Chōḍa inscriptions which tell us that Trilōchana fixed his eyes on Karikālan's lotus-feet not one tells us that a time did also come when those eyes could not continue to be so agreeably employed, or when, not three, but only two or one or perhaps none of them could perform that act of fealty. The inscriptions of the Telugu-Chōḍas which say that Karikālaṉ 'caused the banks of the

[1] The words in the text could indeed have been translated into 'these eyes are superfluous,' so as to remove the possibilty of a reference to a three-eyed person, but the other version may indeed be preferred for purposes of argument so that no difficulty might be left unexplored.

[2] Among the tribes mentioned in the *Brihat-Samhita* is one called 'the three-eyed,' *Trinētra* (xiv, 3). If the people of this tribe are to be indeed thought to have had three eyes, we should not hesitate to draw like inferences from other tribe-names found in the *Brihat-Samhita*, such as 'the people with ears like a sickle,' *Śūrpakarṇa*, 'the horse-faced,' *Aśvavadana*, and 'the tiger-faced', *Vyāghramukha*. Surely India was never a continent of biological monstrosities!

Kāvēri to be built by Trilōchana and other kings *who fixed their eyes on* (his) lotus-feet' occur often in a slightly different form which is to the effect that Karikālaṇ 'caused the banks of the Kāvērī to be built by Trilōchana and other kings *whose eyes were blurred by* (the brilliance of) his lotus-feet (on the occasion when they prostrated before him).' The difference is due to the word *vihata* being used in place of *vihita.*[1] If we omit the explanatory words put in brackets and render *vihata* by 'struck,' a stronger word than 'blurred,' we find that the inscriptions declare that 'Trilōchana and other kings' had their eyes struck (or blinded) by Karikālaṇ's feet. Do we find here any basis for the supposition that the person referred to as Mukari in the *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi* is this Trilōchana? That cannot be. for the inscriptions say that Karikālaṇ's feet blinded not only the eyes of Trilōchana but those of 'other kings' as well, while the *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi* is clearly referring to Mukari alone. But the text of some of the inscriptions is also susceptible of a construction to the effect that Karikālaṇ 'had the banks of the Kāvērī constructed by all kings chief of whom was Trilōchana who was rendered eyeless (*vilōchana*) by being struck (*vihata*) by (Karikāla's) lotus-feet.' While this construction brings Mukari and Trilōchana closer, we cannot forget that even *mukaṇi* is not in the masculine gender and that the reference to Trilōchana occurs in inscriptions belonging generally to the 13th century A.D. and to another line of the Cholas altogether who might not have preserved the tradition quite accurately.

Nor perhaps any south Indian king.

Turning to the earliest works now extant in Tamil, we find some which profess to be contemporaneous with Karikālaṇ and many more which make pointed reference to him and his numerous conquests in south India,[2] but in none of the numerous references to his conquests in south India are we able to glean any hint which helps us to a conclusion regarding Mukari.

Karikālaṇ's conquest of Magadha.

But the very early Tamil work, the *Śilappadikāram*, mentions how, finding that every one of the kings who ruled over lands adjacent to his had lost his independence to him and that he had no more thrones to win in south India, the war-thirsty Karikālaṇ turned his steps to the spacious north with the prayer on his lips that in that direction at least he would come across foemen worthy of his steel, and it proceeds to narrate how he marched up to the Himālayas

[1] H. Krishna-Sastri in *EI.* xi. 340, *n.* 2. He gives the text thus: *charaṇa-sarōruha-vihita-vilōchana-Trilōchana-pramukhākhila-prithvīśvara-kārita-Kāvēri-tīra* . . .

[2] See them carefully collected in Pandit L. Oluganatha-Pillai's *Cholan Karikālan the First*. It is unnecessary to add to them as they are sufficient to establish our point. See also Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar's paper on Karikālaṇ in *IA.* xli. 144–9.

and how, seeing the Himālayas lay itself across his path to obstruct his progress, he grew wrathful, and struck it down and branded it on the nape with his tiger-seal. On his way back a Canopy was presented to him by way of tribute by the king of the sea-skirt land of Vajra, a Hall of Audience was offered as tribute by the war-like king of Magadha on the battle-field whereon he had been defeated and a festooned Triumphal Arch was given to him by the friendly king of Avanti,— the Canopy, the Hall and the Triumphal Arch being all the handiwork of Maya, who was none other than the Artificer by special appointment to the Gods. In the absence of more specific details it is hard to support or refute this passage, but it is remarkable that the statement in this poem that he had conquered all the lands surrounding his own is proved to the hilt by statements in other works,—statements which are all the more valuable for being made casually by different poets in various unconnected works. Half the version of the *Śilappadikāram* having been proved to be borne out by other works, we have some basis for presuming the truth of the other half as well. If little further evidence is forthcoming to support this claim to have invaded north India, there is less against its acceptance. But whether Karikālan's adventurous sally towards the north assumed the proportions of an invasion or was merely a hurried incursion cannot at present be settled.

A doubt as to the Magadha meant in the above extract may arise in the minds of those aware of the existence of a Magadha in south India itself.[1] Many inscriptions dated in the twelfth and

Vajra dentified.

[1] Of the other two kingdoms mentioned along with Magadha, while Avanti is well-known to be Ujjain, there is considerable difficulty in locating the position of Vajra. The text here is மாநீர் வேலி வச்சிர நன்னாடு which may be split up into வச்சிரம், Vajra, the place, and மாநீர் வேலி, an epithet applied to it. Aḍiyārkku-Nallār, a commentator who wrote many centuries later, interpreted the *epithet* as equivalent to 'having the sea for fence,'—quite an appropriate rendering of the phrase,—and added immediately below, in commenting upon the place-name, that Vajra was 'along the bank of the Sōn.' The literal interpretation of the *epithet* is, 'a wide expanse of water,' and it is quite in accord with the gloss that Vajra was along the bank of the Sōn. But to accept this literal interpretation would be to reject the opinion, if not the knowledge or information, of Aḍiyārkku-Nallār,—a model of the accurate scholiast,—that Vajra was bounded by the sea. The scholiast could not have meant to contradict himself in glosses on words standing in juxtaposition. A reconciliation may be effected by holding that Vajra, according to the information of Aḍiyārkku-Nallār, extended from the banks of the Sōn in a south-easterly direction to the Bay of Bengal, so that it touched the sea and also skirted the Sōn. This hypothesis is certainly more tenable than Mr. K. G. Sankara Aiyar's which requires that Aḍiyārkku-Nallār should have blundered through ignorance of the geography of north India and that he should be held to have had in mind the days of Kharavela; *I.A.* xlix. 46. (Do we not find Mr. Sankara Aiyar

the later centuries A.D. refer distinctly to a *mandala* of that name in that portion of the Tamil country now comprised roughly in the South Arcot and Salem districts. How this region came to be known as Magadamaṇḍalam is likely to remain a knotty problem for many years to come. The Mauryan invasion of south India and the presence for some time of roving bands of Mauryans, known as *Vamba Mōriyar*, of whom we have adequate evidence in early Tamil literature,[1] may not furnish a satisfactory explanation, for the epigraphic references do not seem to be earlier than the twelfth century. But this Magadha cannot be the Magadha mentioned along with Avanti and Vajra, kingdoms clearly belonging to north India. Further, if the Magadha of the Tamil inscriptions be the Magadha of the *Śilappadikāram* it is impossible to understand the statement in the latter that Karikālan went north and conquered northern kings,—among them the king of Magadha,—as he had left none in south India to be conquered. So, we see no chink

That is, the Magadha of north India

admiting here that the *Śilappadikāram* must have been composed when Khāravela was king of Kalinga in the second or the first century B.C. ?). Rai Bahadur Hira Lal seeks to identify Wairagarh or Vajrakara, in the Central Provinces, with not only the Vajra of the *Śilappadikāram* but also the Vayirāgaram of the very much later Tamil inscriptions and literary works (*E.I.* x. 26-8). The claim that Vayirāgaram is Wairagarh is indisputable but the other claim that it is also Vajra is doubtful in the extreme. Though Mr. Hira Lal refers to the lines in the *Śilappadikāram* he is obviously unaware of the scholiast's references to the sea and the Sōn ; it is hardly conceivable that Wairagarh was ever the capital of a kingdom which touched both the river and the sea. The reference to Vajra sought to be elucidated by Mr. Hira Lal occurs in Sōmesvaradēva's inscription of about 1100 A D.,—many centuries subsequent to the *Śilappadikāram*, but within a century and a half of its commentator. While Mr. Hira Lal may therefore have to reconsider his identification, we cannot afford to forget that in the many centuries that intervened between the *Śilappadikāram* and Sōmesvaradeva, the boundaries of Vajra might have undergone extensive changes.—

Prof. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar's work, *Some Contributions of South India to Indian Culture*, came into my hands since the above was written. I find that he uses three arguments to arrive at the same conclusion as mine : (*a*) the reference, in the Hathigumpha inscription, to Khāravela marrying a princess of the Vajra royal family ' seems to give the character of historicity to the references contained in Tamil literature' (p. 62); (*b*) from the gloss on the *Śilappadikāram* the inference is justifiable that the country meant is ' the territory of Bengal between the Sōn and the Ganges reaching down to the sea ' (p. 33), and (*c*) Vajjabhūmi is said to be one of the two divisions of Rādha or Lādha (Prof. B. M. Barua's *Ājivikās*, 57-8) and Rādha itself is identifiable with Burdwan in Bengal (R. D. Banerjea's *Pala Kings of Bengal*, 71-5) and the country to the ' south or south-west of it, in either case towards Kalinga ' (pp. 74-6).

[1] See, for example, Prof. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar's *Beginnings of South Indian History*, chap. ii, Pandit M. Raghava Aiyangar's *Śēran Śeṅguṭṭuvan* and Mr. M. S. Ramaswami Aiyangar's *South Indian Jainism*, chap. viii.

Mr. Ramaswami Aiyangar has since published a note in which he says he has resiled from the views he put forward in his book. He now supports the theories of Prof. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar in respect of the Saṅgam Age. Mr. Ramaswami Aiyangar's recantation, though full, does not affect the value of some of the raw material utilized by him.

through which to insinuate the doubt that the *Śilappadikāram* may refer to a Magadha other than that of north India.

Perhaps, Karikālan defeated a Maukhari of Magadha.

Magadha has been the seat of great empires, but it has often been also in the grip of second-rate dynasties as well. One of such is the line of the Maukharis whose history is as yet very obscure. A line of three kings of the Maukharis ruled over Magadha about the fifth century A.D., and in the next century another Maukhari line of atleast five kings,--whose connection with the first line cannot be settled on the strength of the material so far discovered, —held sway over that country and extended its sway up to Delhi, —and perhaps even to the banks of the Sutlej. Indeed, this latter line,—if the two lines are distinct,—seems to have risen to considerable importance in north India under one or two energetic members. But there were also periods in which the Maukharis were no better than petty chieftains lost in obscurity. We seem to have a faint glimmer of the Maukharis in the days of Asoka, and Bāṇa's *Harsha Charita* mentions a Kshatravarman as a Maukhari in a context which suggests that he was very much earlier than the kings who have been already mentioned as assignable to the fifth and sixth centuries A.D. For about a century after the sixth we have some Maukharis ruling as minor potentates. The history of the Maukharis extends, therefore, from about the third century B.C. to the eighth century A.D., but the major portion of it is lost to us. None the less, we may conclude that any minor dynasty which persisted in holding to Magadha where many an empire rose and fell must itself have gone through many and strange vicissitudes.[1] Do not we have some justification, therefore, for supposing that if Karikālaṉ conquered Magadha it was when Magadha was passing through one of the seasons when its power was at low ebb and one of the minor Maukharis was on its throne?

No other suggestion reconciles all the data.

This suggestion is quite in accord with all the facts we know. From various Śaṅgam works we gather that Karikālaṉ conquered the whole of south India ; from the *Śilappadikāram* we know that not content with his south Indian conquests he advanced north and conquered Magadha ; from the *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi* we get the name Mukari as that of one of Karikālaṉ's feudatories who was commanded to render aid in building the embankments of the Kāvēri ; south Indian inscriptions say that even kings helped to build the embankments ; the word *Mukari* in Tamil is the equivalent of the Sanskrit *Maukhari* ; Magadha was from time to time under the

[1] See the accompanying paper on the Maukharis.

control of the Maukhari line of kings. Putting these facts together, we have little difficulty in concluding that Karikālaṉ having conquered south India, went north, attacked the Maukharis who ruled over Magadha and defeated them, and when, some time after his return to his native land, he started raising flood-banks for the Kāvēri, he issued a ukase to all his feudatories,—and among them to the Maukhari (Mukari) also,—to come to his aid, and on the failure of the Maukhari to obey the summons, he had him mulcted in the hard penalty of deprivation of sight. No other theory reconciles all the data which we have brought together. No reference to a Mukari conquered by Karikālaṉ appears in any work or record earlier than the *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi*, but that circumstance itself confirms the authenticity of the claim made on Karikālan's behalf. The lines of Maukhari kings having come to an end by the first half of the eighth century A.D., Jayaṅgoṇḍāṉ who wrote about 1100 A.D. might not even have known of a king who bore the name Mukari had not traditions in respect of a victory over him and the treatment to which he was subjected been current-coin in the realms of the Cholas.

Could Tamil kings have invaded north India?

This suggestion is likely to be flouted as based mainly on an unlikely supposition that the kings of the Tamil country could have been able to carry war into the heart of north India, and even further beyond and on an uncritical acceptance of the claim made by some Tamil kings that they had marched right up to the Himālayas. The possibility of invasions of the type said to have been undertaken by Karikālaṉ has therefore to be closely investigated.

Conflict between north and south.

The Tamil literature of the earliest days preserves accounts of expeditions against the south by 'Aryan kings' successfully resisted by the Tamil kings and of invasions, in turn, of the north by the latter in which they did not fail to gain themselves credit.

Aryans invaded the Tamil land.

The examination of reliable authorities in Tamil induces the conviction 'that there was a series of Aryan invasions under the Mauryans and their successors, the Āndhras, as distinct from Aryan settlements previous to these, and that the Tamil kings and chiefs stemmed the tide of invasion successfully."[1]

[1] Prof. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Beginnings of South Indian History*, 96.

Attention may here be drawn to the possibility, —not noticed so far by any scholar, probably because of the material lying buried in one of the innumerable foot-notes to a ponderous tome, with not even a memorial tablet placed in the index, —of Ādityasēna the Later Gupta king who was ruling over Magadha some time after the death of Harsha (647 A.D.), having been concerned in an invasion of the Chola country.

Southern influence in north India.

Did the Tamil kings, on their part, turn the tables on the 'Aryan' kings by invading north India? We have no irrefragible evidence of southern influence in the north before the days of Śaṅkarāchārya, the great religious teacher who was born in Malabar in the far south.

Did Ādityasena the Later Gupta invade the Chola country?

A fragmentary inscription, at Deoghar in the Santal Parganas—the stone bearing which seems to have been brought from another place, perhaps the Mandara Hill in Bhagalpur State, where it must have been one of the numerous stones on which a very long record had been incised,—speaks of a king Ādityasēna who, 'with (his) consort, the glorious Kōshadevi' caused a temple to be built, 'in the *Krita* age,' he 'having sacrificed with three *aśvamēdha* sacrifices,' and—what is to our purpose—'having arrived from the Chola city'. The characters of the record are, according to Fleet, 'certainly not earlier than the sixteenth century A.D.' But, by that time the Cholas had ceased to rule, the Chola kingdoms were things of the past and the Chola capital was consequently non-existent and the kings of the north might have even forgotten the once famous Chola power. Fleet and Rajendra Lala Mitra, each of whom has edited the inscription, have no doubts, however, about the reading 'the Chola city.' That the inscription preserves an old tradition seems to be evident, as Fleet says, from Ādityasēna being placed in the Krita age. Further, at the end of the inscription as we now have it, occur the words, 'Thus runs the chapter on the Mandāragiri.' Considering that this inscription is only a fragment, it has been even suggested that it is only one of the many chapters of a long work and, indeed, 'an extract of a Sanskrit work on the Mandara Hill in the Bhagalpur district' (O'Malley, *Santal Parganas District Gazetteer*, 1910, p. 258). This Ādityasēna's wife is called Kōshadevi in this inscription, while the wife of Ādityasena the Later Gupta is called Kōṇadēvi in the inscriptions of his times, a fact which, Fleet contends, is 'to be explained by the usual inability of the people, then as now, to read correctly the ancient characters of the inscription or other record from which the composer of these verses obtained his information', and which 'is a mistake of the kind that corroborates, not invalidates, the identification' of these two Ādityasenas. Adding the further circumstance that the Santal Parganas were in all probability a part of the Magadha kingdom of Ādityasena the Later Gupta we may not be wrong if we followed Fleet and accepted the identification. (See *GI.*, foot-note running over pp. 212-4, and Rajendra Lala Mitra, *JASB.* lii. i. 190 f.) This Ādityasēna of the Later Gupta line is ascertained to have been ruling over Magadha in 672-673 A.D. (Fleet, *GI.* 210.)

The famous Western Chalukya king, Vikramāditya I, 'having gained for himself the royalty of his father, which had been concealed by the triad of kings', the Chola, the Pāṇḍya and the Chera (*EI.* x. 105), 'had destroyed the great splendour of the mountain-like kings of the Pāṇḍyas, Chōḷas, Kēraḷas, Kaḷabhras and others, with his prowess resembling a thunderbolt' and his 'lotus like feet were kissed by the Lord of Kāñchi,' Paramēśvaravarman I (*EI.* ix. 205). In 674 A.D., this Vikramāditya's 'victorious army, having entered the Chōḷika province (*vishaya*), was encamped in Uragapura which is situated on the southern bank of the Kāvēri' (*EI.* x. 105, 101). This Uragapura is indisputably Uṛaiyūr, well known as an early capital of the Cholas. (Dr. Jouveau-Dubreuil, *The Pallavas*, Eng. tr. 43).

We find an Ādityasena, ruling in 672-3 A.D., mentioned as returning from 'the Chola city,' and in 674 A.D. we find the Chōla capital in the occupation of Vikramāditya I, the Western Chalukya king who had invaded the Tamil country to wipe off the memory of the disgraceful defeats inflicted on his father when he had warred against the 'Trairājya.' The temptation is very strong therefore to hazard the conjecture that just as the southern kings had banded themselves into a league to withstand West Chalukyan aggression, the West Chalukyas too, in the days of Vikramāditya I, had sought allies from the north of India for a war of revenge and conquest against the kings of the south. We have only to suppose that Ādityasēna of Magadha was invited to join

South Indian influence in Nepal.

Stray legends[1] current in various parts of the country being neither very illuminating nor even passably reliable, they may be ignored, though they often preserve the kernel of undoubted historical facts. Vestiges of the influence of the south are still traceable in Nepal. Popular tradition says that a king of Kāñchīpuram, of the name of Dharmadatta, rid the country of the barbarous Kirāṭas and re-established the four castes.[2] Śaṅkarāchārya obtained such complete sway over the religion of Nepal[3] that he introduced southern rituals and southern priests in the most famous temples.[4] Perhaps in his wake went also a large number of southern Brahmans who employed themselves in propagating his doctrines and consolidating his religious conquest.[5] These conclusions are in all probability indisputable, for they are based, not on south Indian traditions, but on those current in Nepal itself. But quite as convincing as these traditions are the facts that 'the present form of worship at the great Hindu shrines of Badrināth, Kedārnāth, Jageshwar and other places' is quite south Indian and that 'the Rawals (chief priests) at Kedārnāth and Badrināth are still men from the extreme south of India.'[6] Still more important are the architectural characteristics of important temples, for they speak eloquently of a south Indian origin. About a mile and a half from Almora stands the shrine of Lachmēśvara some of the sculptures of which 'resemble more the Jaina figures of

that he was none too loth to risk the adventure, and that he accompanied Vikramāditya to Uṛaiyūr in 674 A.D., and it becomes clear how in an inscription in his own dominions he can be said to have 'arrived from the Chola city' some time later.

This hypothesis helps to strengthen the contentions put forward in the text, and it confirms especially the connection suspected between Magadha and south India; but a foot-note has been chosen to advance this conjecture in, so that opinions on the validity of the arguments in the text may not be affected by the scepticism with which this conjecture may be received.

[1] Such as that a descendant of a Brahman of the Dekkhan founded the city of Pāṭaliputra; Sōmadēva, *KSS.TP.*, i. 18–24.

[2] Prof. S. Lévi, *Le Nepal*, i. 221, ii. 71. He adds: 'Il est singulier, en tous cas, que le Népal ici encore ait pour pendant l'Inde du Sud; les premiers Mallas de l'Inde ont justement pour capitale cette ville de Kāñcī, d'où la légende népalaise fait venir un de ses premiers rois, Dharmadatta'; ii. 214.

[3] See *Ib.*, *passim.*

[4] *Ib.* 364–5. He adds: 'Après la restauration des Mallas, Paçupati devient un véritable fief des religieux civaites du Dekkhan'; i. 364.

[5] In speaking of the peoples of Nepal, Prof. Lévi mentions them: 'Pañca Draviḍa, brahmanes du Dekkhan, amenès et installés par Çaṅkarā âcârya, d'après la tradition, mais renouvelés ou multipliés en fait par les fréquentes relations politiques ou religieuses du Népal avec le Sud de l'Inde.' *Ib.* i. 232.

[6] Mr. Panna-Lal, in his 'Account of a Tour in the Almora District, Himālayas, *JBORS.*, vi. 361–94.

south India.'[1] One of the temples at Thal 'is covered on the exterior with an abundance of horse-shoe carving characteristic of Buddhist buildings in the south of India.'[2] Four miles from Panwanowla stands a small temple which bears a close resemblance, 'both in plan and details,' to 'the famous Ganēśa Rath at Mamellipuram on the Madras coast;' indeed, the shrine seems to be the early proto-type of the later south Indian *gōpuram*.[3] Another temple in the vicinity is one of Mrityuñjaya, 'with a massive imposing spire, profusely ornamented on the exterior, with dummy windows of the Buddhist horse-shoe type, as at Thal . . . and in the Arjuna and Dharmaraja Raths at Mamellipuram in South India.'[4] These temples are all assignable to about the eighth century A.D.[5] Something of the architectural similarity may be due to the adoption of the Buddhist and Jaina styles, but yet there seems to be so much closeness to the south Indian styles as could be explained only on the basis of south Indian influence. The date of Śaṅkara being still a *quæstio vexata*, we cannot definitely say if this influence preceded him or came in his train. Whether a portent or an aftermath of Śaṅkara's advent, it is cogent proof of the expansion of the south in the north, as early as the eighth century A.D. But we are still ignorant of the part which kings and armies took in carrying south Indian culture up to the far north.

Rāshṭrakūṭas in north India.

The Rāshṭrakūṭas seem to have, about the eighth century A.D., planted themselves in some regions to the south of the Ganges but the story has yet to be worked out in detail. We have no earlier information of southern kings invading or raiding the north. The evidences of invasions of the north by the southern peoples and of their attempts at carrying their culture to the northern peoples have yet to be gathered and sifted, but little more can be done here than a little preliminary spade-work revealing the importance and the fascination of the subject.

Trans-Gangetic invasions of Tamil kings.

The works of the period of the Śaṅgam contain references to the Tamil kings defeating the kings of the north,—or 'Aryan kings' as they are sometimes called,—and carrying their victorious arms to the Himālayas and imprinting their seals on that great line of mountains. We have already seen how Karikālaṉ is said to have not only conquered Magadha but to have also marched up to the Himālayas;[6] he is the one Chola to whom is attributed the honour of

[1] *Ib*. 372–3 [2] *Ib*. 380. [3] *Ib*. 374.
[4] *Ib*. 376. [5] *Ib*., *passim*.
[6] See also: கயலெழுதிய விமய நெற்றியி
அயலெழுதிய புலியும் வில்லும் *Śilap*. xvii, *Āychchiyar* (2), 1–2.

incising thereon the figure of a tiger,—the Chola crest. Nalam-Kiḷḷi, perhaps a son of Karikālaṉ, was so much of a terror to the 'kings of the northern regions' that sleep forsook their eyes.[1] Neḍum-Śeḻiyaṉ, the Pāṇḍya king who had put Kaṇṇaki's husband to death was famous both as a poet and as the conqueror of an 'Aryan army'.[2] Another Pāṇḍya,—'the Pāṇḍya who died at Kūṭa-kāram,'— evidently of a later generation, was equally a terror to the 'kings of the northern regions.'[3] No Pāṇḍya, therefore, is known to have come within measurable distance of the Himālayas. That the Chera king Neḍum-Śēral-Ādaṉ set his emblem,—the bow,—on the Himālayas is spoken to by his son[4] and by two other poets.[5] Indeed, he bore the title Imayavarambaṉ in token of his conquests having been stayed only by the Himālayan range. Śeṅguṭṭuvaṉ, the son and successor of Imayavarambaṉ is the king who, according to the *Śilappadikāram*, brought down from the Himālayas a stone-block for an image of Kaṇṇaki. Apart from the references in

[1] நெஞ்சு நடுங் கவலம் பாயத்
துஞ்சாக் கண்ண வடபுலத் தரசே

Kōvūr-Kiḻār, in *Puṟam*, xxxi. 16–17.

[2] (a) பாண்டியன் ஆரியப்படை கடந்த நெடுஞ்செழியன் பாட்டு

Puṟam, clxxxiii.

The reading தந்த for கடந்த is not very material in view of the reading in the *Śilappadikāram* ; see (*b*).

(*b*) வடவாரியர் படைகடந்து
தென்றமிழ்நா டொருங்குகாணப்
புரைதீர் கற்பிற் றேவி தன்னுட
னரசு கட்டிலிற் றுஞ்சிய பாண்டிய
னெடுஞ்செழியன்

Śilap. xxiii (*Kaṭṭurai-*) *Kaṭṭurai*, 14–8.

[3] வடபுல மன்னர் வாட வடல்குறித்
தின்னா வெம்போ ரியறேர் வழுதி

Marudaṉ-Iḷa-Nāgaṉār, in *Puṟam*, lii. 5–6.

[4] மாநீர் வேலிக் கடம் பெறிந் திமயத்து
வானவர் மருள மலைவிற் பூட்டிய
வானவர் தோன்றல்

Śilap. xxv (*Kāṭchi-*) 1-3.

[5] (a) வலம்படு முரசிற் சேர லாதன்
முந்நீ ரோட்டிக் கடம்பெறிந் திமயத்து
முன்னோர் மருள வணங்குவிற் பொறித்து

Māmūlaṉār, in *Akam*, cxxvii. 3–5.

(*b*) அமைவா லருவி யிமையம் விற்பொறித்
திமிழ்கடல் வேலித் தமிழகம் விளங்கத்
தன்கோ னிறீஇத் தகைசால் சிறப்பொடு
பேரிசை மரபி னாரியர் வணக்கி

Kumaṭṭūr-Kaṇṇaṉār, in *Padiṟṟup.*, II. *Padikam*.

(*c*) ஆரியர் துவன்றிய பேரிசை யிமயம்
தென்னங் குமரி யொ டாயிடை
மன்மீக் கூறுநர்

Ib. II. xi. 23–5.

that poem to his having set the Chera crest on that mountain range we have three other poems in which he is credited with that achievement;[1] the third of them seems even to refer indirectly to the account, in the *Śilappadikāram*, of the princes of North Kōśala having been brought captive to the Chera capital. Imayavaramban and Śeṅguṭṭuvaṉ are the only two Cheras who are said to have carried their arms to the trans-Gangetic districts.

A doubtful invasion.

In another poem we find the Cheras associated with the Himālayas, but not in a flattering context. In praising a king of the Chola line the poet despairs of finding any incident which would be a theme befitting the greatness of the patron; he is so great that every achievement which the poet could think of is not a sufficient index to his eminence; his extirpation of Vañji, the Chera capital, after he had annihilated the Chera 'whose crest is the bow engraved on the immeasurably high, soaring-peaked and golden-tipped Himālayas' is equally wanting in significance as a measure of his achievements.[2] As the victorious Chola and the vanquished Chera belonged both to a generation or two after Śeṅguṭṭuvaṉ's, it is likely that in this poem the Himālayas are associated with this Chera by way of a mere reminiscence of the glories of the two great predecessors of his line; it is common poetical convention—in India,

[1] (*a*) கடவு ணிலைய கல்லோங்கு நெடுவரை
வடதிசை யெல்லை யிமய மாகத்
தென்னங் குமரியொ டாயிடை யரசர்
முரசுடைப் பெருஞ்சமந் ததைய வார்ப்பெழச்
சொல்பல நாட்டைத் தொல்கவி னழித்த
போரடு தானைப் பொலந்தார்க் குட்டுவ

Paraṇar, in *Ib.* V. xliii. 6–11.

(*b*) குடபுலங் காவலர் மருமா னொன்னார்
வடபுல விமயத்து வாங்குவிற் பொறித்த
எழுவுறழ் திணிதோ ளியறேர்க் குட்டுவன்

Nat-Tattaṉār in *Pattuppāṭṭu*, iii. (*Śirupāṇ*–), 47–9.

(*c*) ஆரிய ரலறத் தாக்கிப் பேரிசைத்
தொன்றுமுதிர் வடவரை வணங்குவிற் பொறித்து
வெஞ்சின வேந்தரைப் பிணித்தோன்

Paraṇar, in *Akam*, cccxcvi. 16–8.

In Vidwan R. Raghava Aiyangar's edition of the *Akanāṉūṟu*, this poem is said to refer to Imayavaramban (*அரசர் வரலாறு*, p. 49) but for the reason stated above in the text I am inclined to think that it is his son who is referred to.

[2] ஓங்கிய
வரையளந் தறியாப் பொன்படு நெடுங்கோட்
டிமயஞ் சூட்டிய வேம விற்பொறி
மாண்வினை நெடுந்தேர் வானவன் றொலைய
வாடா வஞ்சி வாட்டுநின்
பீடுகெழு நோன்றாள் பாடுங் காலே.

Puṟam, xxxix. 13–8.

as elsewhere,—to load the inconspicuous scions of an once famous dynasty with the achievements of its greatest members. This Chera cannot therefore be said to have invaded north India.

Aryans defeated in Tamil land.

The poems in which credit is claimed for inflicting defeats on the 'Aryan army' or the 'kings of the northern regions' may all refer to victories gained in the Tamil land itself over invaders from the north. Immediately before Karikālaṉ, Imayavarambaṉ and Śeṅguṭṭuvaṉ, and also immediately after them, the south of India seems to have suffered heavily from the onslaughts of the forces of the Aryans, the Mōriyas and the Vaḍugas; we cannot, therefore, suppose that Tamil kings who are said to have defeated the 'Aryan army' or the 'kings of the northern regions' did necessarily go north to Aryavarta and win victories over its kings. Further, Daṇḍakāraṇya itself was evidently a part of the 'Aryan lands' in those days.[1] So the Chola king Nalam-Kiḷḷi and the Pāṇḍyan kings Neḍum-Śeḻiyaṉ and 'He who died at Kūtakāram,' of whom we are told that they conquered the Aryans, need have done little but defeat such Aryan invaders as presumed to enter their lands; at best they marched up to Daṇḍakāraṇya and routed in battle some of the kings of that region; there is no proof whatever that they went farther north. Yet, in the *Śilappadikāram* itself we find two lines which say that the Himālayas were protected by 'the three crowned kings' of the Tamil land.[2] The explanation of this seeming contradiction is perhaps that poems relating to the trans-Gangetic exploits of Pāṇḍyan kings are now lost. We would be safe in treating all references that mention victories over kings or armies vaguely called Aryan or northern as relating to successes gained in the Tamil country itself or in its vicinity.

Of Śaṅgam kings, only three invaded north India.

This examination of the references in the Śaṅgam works to the north Indian invasions of kings of the Tamil country brings out the fact that of the numerous kings of whom they make mention, there were only three who had gone on invasions towards the Gangetic regions. The Chola Karikālaṉ and the Chera Imayavarambaṉ and Śeṅguṭṭuvaṉ stand out, therefore, as the only Tamil kings of whose invasions of the far north we have reliable evidence. We have had to base these conclusions entirely on

[1] The commentary on the *Padiṟṟuppattu*, VI (*Padikam*), says:
இதன் பதிகத்துத் தண்டாரணியமென்றது, ஆரிய நாட்டிலே உள்ளதொரு நாடு.

[2] *முடிமன்னர் மூவருங் காத்தோம்புந் தெய்வ*
வடபேரிமயமலை xxix (*Vāḻttu-, Dēvandi-lel.*)

literary works, but no valid reason can be adduced for distrusting the many poets and poems we have relied on. Not only Iḷam-Kō-Aḍigaḷ in his *Śilappadikāram* and Śāttaṉār in his *Maṇimēkalai* but also the poets Māmūlaṉār, Kumaṭṭūr-Kaṇṇaṉār, Nat-Tattaṉār and Paraṇar in their 'occasional verses' embedded in the anthologies, the *Pattuppāṭṭu*, the *Ahanāṉūṟu* and the *Padiṟṟuppattu*, speak in quite unambiguous language of expeditions of war and conquest which reached the neighbourhood of the Himālayas. Even those who might be disposed to compare Iḷam-Kō-Aḍigaḷ and Śāttaṉār to Tasso and the Baron Münchhausen have not yet grown so bold in their scepticism as to cast aspersions on the reliability or the veracity of the poets Māmūlaṉār, Kumaṭṭūr-Kaṇṇaṉār, Nat-Tattaṉār and Paraṇar.

Detailed study of these invasions.

We may now turn to a detailed study of the north Indian invasions which are attributed to Karikālaṉ, Imayavarambaṉ and Śeṅguṭṭuvaṉ.

Invasions of Imayavarambaṉ and Karikālan.

From the authorities on which we have to rely we are not able to extract any details of Imayavarambaṉ's expedition except that he must have started from his kingdom, the Chera country. We have already detailed Karikālaṉ's northern invasion at some length but the only particulars that we have of his route are that he marched up to the Himālayas and that he defeated the king of Magadha and received tribute from him and gifts from the king of Vajra and the king of Avanti. In all probability he did not turn his steps towards Avanti, for the gift of the king of that country looks no more than a token of admiration and a pledge of the peace and goodwill which he expected to prevail between them.

Śeṅguṭṭuvaṉ's invasions.

Two expeditions against the north may with confidence be attributed to Śeṅguṭṭuvaṉ. In one expedition his object was merely to get down from the Himālayas a stone-block for an image of his mother who seems to have committed *sati* on the death of his father;[1] he was forced to give battle on the banks of the Ganges to a thousand Aryan kings who had combined against him, and though he was only one against a thousand the victory was his.[2] Another expedition was for the purpose of securing a similar stone-block out of which he might carve an image of the heroine of the *Śilappadikāram*,—a certain Kaṇṇaki who, deeply

[1] *Śilap.* xxv. (*Kātchi-*) 160–4; xxviii. (*Naḍukal-*) 119–21, and (*Iṟudikkaṭṭurai.*)
[2] *Puṟam.* lxiii; M. Raghava Aiyangar: *Śēraṉ Śeṅguṭṭuvaṉ*, 28. There is some doubt if the mother did commit *sati*, but that has no real bearing on the question if Śeṅguṭṭuvaṉ did go north.

offended with the Pāṇḍya for having unjustly put her husband to death, laid a curse on his capital, Madura, which was incontinently reduced to ashes by a miraculous conflagration. Having thus proved her remarkable devotion to her husband, she wandered into the dominions of Śeṅguṭṭuvaṉ and from there at last she ascended heaven.[1] This led to her being deified and she became the goddess of a cult of chastity, under the name Pattiṉi Dēvi or Pattiṉi Kaḍavuḷ, —'Our Lady of Chastity'.[2] Śeṅguṭṭuvaṉ thereupon decided to build a temple in her honour and instal her image in it. Śeṅguṭṭuvaṉ started on this expedition from his capital, Vañji, and he marched to the foot of the Nīlagiri, where he received information that 'the Nūṟṟuvar Kaṉṉar' sought his alliance assuring him that they were capable of providing a fleet of convoys to cross the Ganges.[3] Śeṅguṭṭuvaṉ accepted the alliance and requested them to get boats ready for him.[4] Starting again, the army marched on and on till at last it crossed the Ganges and reached the northern bank with the aid of the transports which the Kaṉṉar had provided in accordance with their promise.[5] Śeṅguṭṭuvaṉ was welcomed here by the Kaṉṉar,[6] but passing through their territory, he reached the North,[7] whereupon he was attacked by Kanaka and Vijaya, sons of Bālakumara, who had been joined by Uttara, Vichitra, Rudra, Bhairava, Chitra, Simha, Danudhra and Śvēta, kings of the northern regions.[8] The forces of this northern league were defeated[9] and Kanaka and Vijaya were captured along with fifty-two chariot-warriors,[10] but the others escaped in various disguises.[11] Śeṅguṭṭuvaṉ's general then marched to the foot of the Himālayas and secured the block of stone for which the expedition had been undertaken.[12] Compelling Kanaka and Vijaya to carry the stone on their heads,[13] Śeṅguṭṭuvaṉ returned to the banks of the Ganges[14] and having had the stone bathed in the river with due ceremony,[15] he crossed the river and occupied a convenient camp provided for him and his troops on the southern bank by the

[1] For a story which seems to have a point or two in common with that of Kaṉṉaki, see the lines on Tirumāvuṇṇi by Marudaṉ-Iḷa-Nāgaṉār of Madurai in the *Naṟṟiṇai*, ccxvi.

[2] See, for instance :

தம் மகளு டைடத்தவிப்
பத்தினிக் கடவுளைப் பரசல் வேண்டுமென. *Śilap*. xxv. (*Kāṭchi-*), 113-4.
கடவுட் பத்தினிக் கற்கால் கொண்டபின். *Ib*. xxvii. (*Nīr-*), 2.
ஒருபெரும் பத்தினிக்கடவுளாங் குரைப்பேன். *Maṇi*. xxvi. (*Vañji-*), 10.

[3] *Śilap*. xxvi. (*Kālkōḷ-*), 128-156. [4] *Ib*. 161-6. [5] *Ib*. 175-7. [6] *Ib*. 178.
[7] *Ib*. 183-7. [8] *Ib*. 188-220. [9] *Ib*. 221-4. [10] *Ib*. 225-230.
[11] *Ib*. 248-254. [12] *Ib*. xxvii (*Nīr-*), 3-4. [13] *Ib*. 13-4. [14] *Ib*. 15-6.
[15] *Ib*. 17.

Aryan kings.[1] Here he reviewed his troops and rewarded them amply.[2] It was then two years and eight months since he had started from Vañji on this expedition.[3] Directing the Hundred Aryan kings to go to their country he marched homeward and reached Vañji amid the rejoicings of his subjects.[4]

The Hundred Kaṇṇar and North Kōśala.

This account of Śeṅguṭṭuvaṉ's second invasion repays careful scrutiny. The name of the place where Kanaka and Vijaya were defeated by Śeṅguṭṭuvaṉ does not occur in it, but from a reference lower down in the poem it is clear that it was Kuyilāluvam,[5] which seems to be identical with Kuyilālapura, which was one of the numerous places of the advent of the Buddha, according to an old Tamil work,[6] though in Śeṅguṭṭuvaṉ's time a temple to Śiva seems to have been the best of its attractions. Where this Kuyilāluvam was we are not able to say, but it is not unlikely, apart from the reference to its having been one of the places of the Buddha's advent, that it was near Kapilavastu. That Śeṅguṭṭuvaṉ should have been 'welcomed' by the Nuṟṟuvar Kaṇṇar, that is, the Hundred Kaṇṇar, when he had crossed the Ganges would seem to indicate that their capital lay to the north of that river, though the fact of their having been able to provide convoys to cross it would show that they were masters of its southern bank also. Śeṅguṭṭuvaṉ passed through their country and 'reached the North'; this North was probably North Kōśala,—for it is only this country that could not only lie to the north of a region which itself skirted the northern bank of the Ganges, but could also include Kuyilāluvam within its bounds and could yet be some distance from the foot of the Himālayas to reach which Śeṅguṭṭuvaṉ's general had to go further north from Kuyilāluvam. It has been suggested not only that the kings variously called the 'Aryan kings,' the 'Kaṇṇar,' the 'Hundred Kaṇṇar' and the 'Hundred Aryan kings' ruled over countries on either bank of the Ganges but that they were also masters of Eastern Malwa. This inference is based on the fact that though the *Śilappadikāram* does not specifically mention the 'Hundred Kaṇṇar' as having been present at the consecration of the image of Kaṇṇaki,—or Pattiṉi Devi, as she had by now come to be called,—which took place immediately on Śeṅguṭṭuvaṉ's return from

[1] *Ib.* 18–47. [2] *Ib.* 148-150. [3] *Ib.* 177–8. [4] *Ib.* 256.

[5] இமயச் சிமயத் திருங்குயி லாலுவத்
துமையொரு பாகத் தொருவனை வணங்கி. *Ib.* xxviii (*Naḍukal*–) 102-3.

[6] See Mahāmahōpādhyāya V. Swaminatha Aiyar's introductory essay on the life of the Buddha, in his edition of the *Maṇimēkalai*, p. 2, *n.* 3.

this invasion, it states that the 'Malwa kings' were present;[1] nowhere else in the poem is there any mention of the 'kings of Malwa,' and it is inconceivable that certain kings of whom nothing had so far been said were present at the consecration while the Kaṉṉar, the allies who had materially helped Śeṅguṭṭuvaṉ to secure the stone-block for the image, were inexplicably absent. The chances, therefore, are that the term 'Malwa kings' is an equivalent of the term the 'Hundred Kaṉṉar',— by the way, note also the plurals,— and that the kings of Malwa were none other than the Aryan kings who went by the name of the Hundred Kaṉṉar.[2] These must have held sway over Eastern Malwa, in addition to their territories on the northern bank of the Ganges, for it is only then that they could have commanded both banks of that river.[3]

[1] குடகக் கொங்கரு மாளுவ வேந்தரும் xxx (*Varam-*), 159.

[2] The credit for these suggestions must go to M. Raghava Aiyangar, *Śēraṉ Śeṅguṭṭuvaṉ*, 63, 108 *n.* 2, and 155 *n.*

[3] I am discreetly retreating again to a foot-note so that I may put forward a conjecture without damaging the contentions in the text. At the consecration at Vañji of the image of Pattiṉi Devi, 'the distinguished visitors' were Kanaka and Vijaya, — the princes whom Śeṅguṭṭuvaṉ had conquered in that expedition, — some kings who had been liberated from prison in honour of the occasion, the kings of Koṅgu and Ceylon and the 'Mâlwa kings'. When these visitors paid obeisance to the image on the conclusion of the consecration and prayed that the Devi would manifest herself in their dominions as well, there rose a voice which said that their prayer was granted (*Śilap.* xxx- *Varam-*, 150–164). From another part of the same work (*Uraiperukaṭṭurai*) it is apparent that some time later, the Pāṇḍya warded off famine and pestilence by conducting a festival to appease the Devi, the Koṅgu kings celebrated also a similar festival, Gajabâhu of Ceylon conducted a festival and built a temple in her honour, and the Chola king, Perum-Kiḷḷi, built a temple for her at Uṟaiyūr. Nothing, however, is recorded here of how the Malwa kings and the Kaṉṉar (if they are not identical) and the 'Aryan kings' (Kanaka and Vijaya) celebrated her memory, and what they did to propagate her cult and whether the Devi kept her promise and appeared in their lands as well. While the cult spread rapidly in Ceylon, it has been stated that 'students of Tamil literature have searched in vain for any trace on the continent of Southern India, of this worship which became popular, and has remained so to this day, in Ceylon' (Diwan Bahadur L. D. Swamikkannu Pillai, *An Indian Ephemeris, A.D. 700 to A.D. 1799*, I. i. 470), and what search for traces of this cult in north India has been made, — but it has not been much, — has so far been equally vain.

A temple to Pattiṉi-Devi in Eastern Malwa?

Attention may be drawn therefore to a temple of a goddess called Pataini Devi in a region which must have been comprised in Eastern Malwa. Cunningham describes it as forming 'a conspicuous object in the treeless landscape, standing out boldly on a low projecting spur of the lofty hill whose quarries furnished the stones of the Bharhut sculptures' (*ASI. R.* ix. 31). He says that some of its sculptural features, — the roofing and the mouldings, — are after the manner of the early Gupta temples (*Ib.* 31-2). The goddess, 3½ feet high, has traces of four arms all of which have been broken off. It being surrounded by a number of small figures, — 'with their names labelled below them in characters of the 10th or 11th century ',— and also by other figures all of which appear to be of Jaina origin, Cunningham believes that 'the enshrined goddess must belong to the Jains.' He adds: 'The temple appears to be much older than the earliest

The routes taken.

None of the accounts of these various invasions of the north of India by the kings of the Tamil country affords any information

date which can be assigned to the inscriptions. It is, of course, possible that the names may have been added long after the statue was set up. But, I incline rather to the belief, that the present statue is of the same age as the inscriptions, and that it was set up in the old temple which had for a long time been empty.' He adds further: 'I am strongly inclined to place the date of the temple as early as the time of the Guptas and to identify it with the shrine of the goddess Pishṭapurikā Dēvi of a place in the neighbourhood' (*Ib.*). But that this identification with Pishṭapurikā Devi was mistaken has been conclusively established by Fleet (*GI.* 113, *n.* 2).

The images being of an age later than that of the temple itself proves nothing; the original images might have been replaced by later ones or the name of the principal goddess might have persisted even after all the images had changed. The Jain surroundings do not matter much either way.

It is not unlikely that 'Patain Dēvi' is only a local variant of the Sanskrit 'Patni Dēvi' just as much as the form 'Pattini Devi' is the Tamil equivalent. The situation of the temple in the East Mālwa territory, its antiquity and the possibility of the name of the goddess being Pattiṉi Dēvi may justify the conjecture that 'Our Lady of Chastity' did not fail to abide by her word that she would manifest herself to the Mālwa kings in their own country,—or rather, that the 'Mālwa kings' went to their country and built a temple or temples to her, of which this one might be a survival or an imitation of later days. Against this theory must be set the fact that its main basis is the similarity and the probable common origin of the names Pattiṉi and Patain.

I must point out, however, that Burgess considers that the temple is 'as old at least as the 10th century A.D.' (*Ancient Monuments, Temples and Sculptures of India*, i. 3.), and therefore does not evidently agree with Cunningham's estimate of its antiquity. The Finance and Revenue Commissioner of the Nagod State in which the temple stands had the great kindness to visit the temple for my sake; in a letter to me he agrees substantially with Cunningham about the images and the inscriptions, but he has no opinion to offer in respect of the age of the style of the temple. He adds: 'I do not think the goddess has anything to do with the story of your Pattiṉi-Dēvi. I enquired from the old men living in the villages in the vicinity. None of them is able to say anything about the goddess, save that the temple stands there from time immemorial and that the image is that of Durgā.' To us in this part of the country who know how often and how closely the cult of Pattiṉi-Dēvi is associated with that of Durgā, the remark serves only to confirm the validity of my identification.

Cunningham's suggestion that the temple might belong to Gupta times finds a parallel in the opinion of Vincent Smith in respect of the image, generally accepted to be one of Pattiṉi-Dēvi, which was found in Ceylon and subsequently placed in the British Museum, London. He says: 'The age of the work is doubtful. The cleverness with which the transparency of the skirt is shown recalls similar skill exhibited in the Gupta sculpture of the fifth century in Northern India, but it would be rash to attribute such an early date to the Ceylonese image for that reason only, and it is difficult to find any other test of its age' (*History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, 248.) Dr. A. K. Coomarasami is in two minds; he is 'inclined to assign a comparatively early date to this bronze' but he would feel quite safe in suggesting 'the twelfth or at any rate the thirteenth century as the latest' possible period (*JRAS.*, 1909, pp. 292-3).

The traces of the Gupta style in the Ceylon bronze and the Eastern Malwa temple need argue no more than that the Pattiṉi-Dēvi cult became popular in the days of the Guptas.

If this conjecture derives support from other quarters, it might follow that the Pattiṉi cult was not unknown in East Mālwa in the early Gupta times or even earlier, that it was probably carried from Vañji by the Malwa kings who were present at the consecration of Seṅguṭṭuvaṉ's temple to her and that the battle of Kuyilāluvam was a fact of genuine history.

about the routes taken by the invaders. The absence of such details, however, ought not to lead us to the conclusion that the omissions are the result of the ignorance natural enough in poets who fashioned romances out of tales current in the land for centuries before;[1] a casual perusal of the original texts should be conclusive proof that the omissions are due to the sense of craftsmanship of the poets and not to their ignorance; the poets exclude rigorously all but the most essential facts and touches. The historian to whom a full, verified catalogue of particulars would be a relief might regret that the poets had not inserted a list of the countries through which the routes of their heroes lay in their invasions, —though he might well be aware that the similar list, of ships in this instance, which Homer smuggled into the *Iliad* achieved only sonorousness and failed absolutely to represent historical truth. To the literary critic, however, the conciseness and the directness of the poets and their studied efforts not to crowd the canvas are among the merits which stamp the early Tamil classics as works of great art.

Imayavarambaṉ's invasion and the two invasions of Śeṅguṭṭuvaṉ are spoken to by the *Pattuppāṭṭu*, the *Padiṟṟuppattu*, the *Ahanāṉūṟu* and the *Śilappadikāram*, each of which professes to be a contemporary document. It is only the invasion of Karikālaṉ for which no contemporary authority is available, but it finds mention in the *Śilappadikāram*, a work which purports to have been written within two generations of him. The statement in the *Śilappadikāram* is sufficiently clear and almost conclusive by itself and it is to some extent buttressed up by the *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi*. The fact of these invasions may therefore be taken to be attested to by excellent authorities. Evidence of the invasions.

That the three early Tamil kings, Karikālaṉ, Imayavarambaṉ and Śeṅguṭṭuvaṉ, invaded north India has been sought to be established in two ways—firstly by an examination of all the references in early Tamil literature, and secondly by the association of Mukari with Magadha. The two parts of the argument are not, perhaps, of equal cogency. While the contention that three Tamil The evidence is quite reliable.

[1] Vidwān R. Raghava Aiyaṅgar, in seeking to establish that Karūr in the Trichinopoly district was Vañji, the capital of Śēraṉ Śeṅguṭṭuvaṉ, the Chera king, explains Śeṅguṭṭuvaṉ's marching westward to the foot of the Nilgiris when his object was to reach the North Kōśala country—(see the *Śilappadikāram*)—by suggesting that perhaps the northward military route of those days took that rather circuitous course; see his *Vañji-mā-nagar*, 78–80. The *Vaḍuga-Vaḻi*, or road leading northward to the Telugu country, is mentioned in inscriptions of obviously much later times.

kings of the Saṅgam age invaded north India is supported by unvarnished contemporary accounts, the theory that the Magadha king conquered by Karikālaṉ must have been a Maukhari is based on a series of equations. But this latter theory, though essential to a sufficient appreciation of Karikālaṉ's place in Indian history, is not indispensable to the conclusion that Karikālaṉ invaded north India and that his invasions had parallels in those of Imayavarambaṉ and Śeṅguṭṭuvaṉ.

The possibility of these invasions.

We may now turn to enquire whether kings of the Tamil country could have marched on and on with victorious arms to the foot of the Himālayas.

A comparison.

If we may institute a comparison with events which happened some centuries later, we may point to the claim made by Rājēndra-Chola I, already mentioned,— famous as one of the greatest of Tamil kings, — that about 1023 A.D. he sent his army northwards and that it conquered many of the kingdoms of northern India.[1] When we remember that this very king was also the conqueror, of the Nicobars and parts of Sumatra, there is little reason to suppose that the story of his northern conquests is a brazen boast.[2] That Rājēndra-Chola sent an army north wishing 'to purify his own country with the water of the Ganges' and that his instructions to his general were apparently to fight against those who showed themselves unfriendly to the Cholas or to their expedition[3] may be taken, for the present purpose, to represent correctly the aims and the methods of that invasion. Here we have a real parallel to the expeditions of Śeṅguṭṭuvaṉ. But to go further and argue that 'a few chosen tracts of country were actually invaded and if the inhabitants

Another comparison.

[1] Venkayya, in *ASI. AR.*, 1911–2, pp. 173-4.

[2] A comparison with the acquisition of the throne of Nepal, some seventy years later, by Nānya-dēva, a prince of the Karṇāṭaka country, must be misleading. Nānya-dēva does not seem to have led military forces from the south against Nepal or other northern kingdom, but probably having been engaged in service under a Nepalese prince, he managed to shuffle himself into the throne. Note the following extracts from Prof. Sylvain Lévi's *Le Népal*, ii.: 'La tradition qui représente Nānya deva comme un Rajpoute du Dekhan est acceptable' (201). 'Des raisons d'ordre positif nous ont déterminé plus haut à choisir entre les dates divergentes la date de 1097 J.C. pour l'invasion de Nānya-deva. Notre choix trouve ici une nouvelle justification. De 1097, invasion Nānya deva, à 1324, invasion de Harisimha deva, l'intervalle est de 227 ans', (221). 'Si Nānya deva était réellement originaire du Karnāṭaka, il était sans doute venu chercher fortune dans le Nord; comme tant d'aventuriers qui fondèrent des dynasties, il s'était engagé au service d'un prince local, et soutenu par les soldats qu'il avait menés à des campagnes heureuses, il avait renversé son maître' (201-2). Perhaps Nānya-dēva was connected with the Rāshṭrakūṭas of Magadha.

[3] Venkayya, in *ASI. AR.*, 1911–2, pp. 173, 176.

offered any resistance a regular war was gone through' and that 'the names of the remaining territorial divisions with their rulers were ascertained and included in the lists of kings overcome'[1] is to suppose that kings and their eulogists were devoid of all sense of truth or — humour. Yet we need not overlook the admission that the army on pilgrimage must have been sufficiently strong to give war, if it was forced to. Kings who went on pilgrimages could not have afforded to run the risk of being meanly set upon by an unchivalrous adversary, and on the other hand they do not seem to have camouflaged expeditions of conquest as innocent pilgrimages. When Śeṅguṭṭuvaṉ started on his second expedition he was not slow to announce that he would try to play both the roles of pilgrim and warrior.[2] The real point is not whether the primary object was pilgrimage or conquest, but whether the royal pilgrims went sufficiently equipped with men and arms to protect themselves if insulted or harassed. Peace with those who gave peace, and war with those who invited it, — this must have been their policy. Even the sceptic who contends that the expedition despatched by Rājēndra-Chola was in the nature of a pilgrimage has to admit in the same breath that various circumstances lead to the conclusion that the Cholas were considered the protectors of distant Kanouj in even the days of Rājēndra-Chola's successors.[3] A bath in the Ganges could scarcely have been so efficacious in the case of the Chola from the distant south as to secure for him suzerainty over the king of Kanouj and victories over other kings of the Gangetic basin, all of whom, we may permit ourselves the hope, had had at least equal opportunities for baths in that sacred river. Even kings could not have failed to command sufficient perspicacity to perceive that at least their own subjects, among whom were published those grants and literary works which contain eulogies recording victories over northern kings, would not have failed to laugh in their sleeves if courtly bards had been allowed to represent pilgrimages as expeditions of war and conquest. Surely, Rājēndra-Chola's *Daṇḍa-nāyaka* had not been instructed to play the part assigned in the fable to the cat with the rosary,— to go piously prowling on a pilgrimage and at a suitable moment to pounce upon the unlucky mouse, which, though it feared the cat, trusted the rosary.

When were such invasions easy?

The explanation of the ease with which Karikālaṉ, Imayavarambaṉ, Śeṅguṭṭuvaṉ and Rājēndra-Chola I were able to advance

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[1] Venkayya, in *ASI. AR.* 1911–2, p. 174. [2] *Silap.* xxvi. (*Kālkōḷ*-), 7-18 and 156-163.
[3] Venkayya, in *ASI. AR.*, 1911-2, pp. 174-5.

into and overturn kingdoms very far from their own with the aid of what must have been comparatively small armies is not very far to seek. We need only recall to mind the classic instances of the March of the Ten Thousand, the oriental adventure of Alexander and the Russian campaign of Napoleon. An army can go into distant countries, and even very far from its base of operations, heaping carcases of the native soldiery with the profusion with which Autumn struck down leaves in Vallambrosa, and unceremoniously tumbling ancient thrones into the very dust, provided it confines its course to lands which are either socially unintegrated or politically disorganized and provided also that it does nothing to rouse the people up and compel them to organize and offer resistance. Rājēndra-Chola's expedition can be shown to have started at a time when the kingdoms of the north were at low ebb; no political power of outstanding eminence was to be found to bar the way against his army.[1] So too, Śeṅguṭṭuvaṉ, his father Imayavarambaṉ, and Karikālaṉ could each have found little difficulty in marching north and winning the laurels which they claim to have won, had each of them chosen an appropriate opportunity.

When were they possible?

When did these kings of the Tamil country get such an opportunity in India's long history? When were the kingdoms of north India so weak as to be easily subverted by small armies which must have travelled very far from their native lands and through

India in 1023 A.D. and in 1097 A.D.

[1] An interesting comparison may be instituted between the political condition of India in 1097 A.D. when Nānya Deva usurped the throne of Nepal and in 1023 A.D. when Rājēndra-Chola's army was on its victorious course. Prof. Sylvain Lévi sums up the position in 1097 A.D. as follows: 'On ne peut pas cependant s'imaginer Nānya deva à la tête d'une bande armee partant du fond du Dekkhan pour s'élancer à l'assaut de l'Himâlaya. L'état politique de l'Inde se prêtait mal à une razzia aussi audacieuse. Le Dekkhan était soumis à un empereur puissant, Vikramaditya VI le Čâlukya, qui réussit à fonder une ère datée de son avènement (1076 J.C.); sa capitale était Kalyāṇa, au Sud-Ouest et non loin de la moderne Bidar, dans les États du Nizam. Le Mysore, le Madouré, Goa, le Konkan, le Coromandel avait dû reconnaître sa suzeraint́é. Au Sud du Gange, deux souverains puissants, Karṇa le Kalačuri de Čedi et Kīrtivarman le Čandella de Kalanjār se disputaient la suprématie. Sur le cours inférieur du fleuve, les Pâlas affaiblis luttaient contre les Senas grandissants' (*Le Nepal*, ii 201). In 1023 A.D. we find a different state of things. Rājēndra-Chola's hosts were able to march up to Orissa with no trouble as the intervening kingdoms were under his control. The Pāla Ring Mahipâla was a weakling. The Sēnas were to grow into importance just a little while later;— at any rate they lay out of his course. The Chandela King of Kalānjār was in 1023 A.D. compelled to surrender his capital to Mahmud of Ghazni. Gāṅgēyadēva Kalachuri of Chedi was able and ambitious, but we know too little of him to say how far he would have been able to oppose Rājēndra-Chola's army. Bhōja of Mālwa was in his youth, but the Chola forces did not enter his territories. The Western Chāḷukyas had been hit hard by Rājēndra-Chola's father and had not yet recovered from the blow. This survey is enough to bring out clearly the absence of all effective impediments to the success of an expedition such as Rājēndra-Chola's.

many kingdoms of which a few at least would have realized the danger to themselves of allowing a foreign army to enter their bounds, and when were the kingdoms lying between the Kāvēri and the Himālayas so wanting in strength or courage as to look idly on when forces which did not shrink from battle or despise conquest were passing through them? When was India to the north of the Tamil country so disorganized as to afford free scope for these expeditions?

The period of these invasions must be also the Age of the Śaṅgam.

If we find an answer to these questions we would be able to determine when Karikālaṉ and Śeṅguṭṭuvaṉ ruled in the Tamil country, when Karikālaṉ built the banks of the Kāvēri, when Mukari paid penalty with his eyes, who that Mukari was, when Karikālaṉ conquered Magadha and inspired fear in the king of Vajra and instilled regard in the king of Avanti, when North Kōśala was invaded and the Battle of Kuyilāluvam was fought, when Kanaka and Vijaya ruled over North Kōśala, who they were as well as the other princes who had come to their aid, and who Gajabāhu of Ceylon was. But a more important result than even these would be the determination of the Age of the Tamil Śaṅgam,—that academy of poets of whom many have sung eulogies of Karikālaṉ, Imayavarambaṉ and Śeṅguṭṭuvaṉ. The traditional accounts of the Śaṅgam give it the phenomenally long life of 1850 years. Whatever credence may be placed in these accounts, it is indisputable that these three kings flourished at some stage of the history of the Śaṅgam and within about twenty-five years of each other. To fix the dates of these kings would, therefore, be to ascertain one of the periods covered by the long-lived Śaṅgam.

Current theories on the Śaṅgam Age.

Though no attempt has hitherto been made to inquire into the question as to which period would allow of invasions of the north by Karikālaṉ, Imayavarambaṉ and Śeṅguṭṭuvaṉ, there have been many attempts at determining the age of the Śaṅgam by fixing the dates of Śeṅguṭṭuvaṉ and of Gajabāhu of Ceylon, who was present at the consecration by Śeṅguṭṭuvaṉ of the image of Pattiṉi Dēvi.[1] One theory has it that Gajabāhu ascended the throne in 113 A.D. and ruled till 135 A.D. and that in consequence Śeṅguṭṭuvaṉ must have lived in 'the early part of the second century A.D.' and Karikālaṉ 'in the latter half of the first century A.D.' or, to be more accurate,

[1] I am making a selection out of many theories, but I believe I have not omitted any really significant one.

from about 50 to 95 A.D.[1] Other dates for Gajabāhu, such as 162–191 A.D.[2] and 173–193 A.D.[3] have been accepted and the dates for Śeṅguṭṭuvaṉ and Karikālaṉ altered accordingly. Another theory has been advanced that Śeṅguṭṭuvaṉ must be assigned to the latter half of the 4th century A.D. or the earlier half of the next century.[4] From calculations based on astronomical conjunctions it has been held that 'the date of the composition of the *Śilappadikāram* was somewhere about A.D. 756';[5] if this calculation is correct, as also the statement found in that work that it was composed by the brother of Śeṅguṭṭuvaṉ, the date of its political hero, who is none other than Śeṅguṭṭuvaṉ himself, must be about that year,—756 A.D.

Review of Indian History:

We may therefore pass in review the history of north India between the first century and the eighth century A.D. to determine whether the northern invasions of the three Tamil kings were possible in the years covered by these various theories. While it is indisputable that Śeṅguṭṭuvaṉ's father was Imayavarambaṉ, some doubt has been raised whether Karikālaṉ was indeed the maternal grand-father of Śeṅguṭṭuvaṉ, but it looks possible, in any event, that the distance of time between Karikālaṉ and Śeṅguṭṭuvaṉ is fairly represented in the hypotheses that the former ruled from 50 to 95 A.D. and the latter from about 100 A.D. onward. Our survey of about eight centuries is however lightened, to some extent, by the fact that our attention has to be directed specifically to the political condition of Magadha, which country is said to have been conquered by Karikālaṉ, and of North Kōśala which was the country in which, in all probability, the battle of Kuyilāluvam was won by Śeṅguṭṭuvaṉ.

From the Mauryas to the Satakarṇis.

From the accession of Chandragupta Maurya (321 B.C.) to the death of Asoka (232 or 231 B.C.) no invasion of Magadha or North Kōśala would have been possible. Substantial reasons have been adduced in support of the contention that south India down to approximately the latitude of Madras, must have been

[1] Kanakasabhai Pillai, *The Tamils 1800 Years Ago*, 164.
Though Karikālaṉ may not be Śeṅguṭṭuvaṉ's grand-father it looks possible that the distance of time between the two was such as is suggested above. See also Pandit N. M. Venkataswami Nattar's *Kapilar*, 75–8, and Prof. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar's *Beginnings of South Indian History*, 199.

[2] Prof. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Ancient India*, 367.

[3] Prof. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Beginnings of South Indian History*, 153.

[4] M. Raghava Aiyangar, *Śēraṉ Śeṅguṭṭuvaṉ*, 177; M. S. Ramaswami Aiyangar, *Studies in South Indian Jainism*, 141.

[5] Diwan Bahadur L. D. Swamikkannu Pillai, *An Indian Ephemeris, A.D. 700 to A.D. 1700*, I. i. 108, 468.

subjugated by either Chandragupta or (his son) Bindusāra[1] and Asoka's hold over his dominions was so strong that no king of the distant Tamil country could have marched any great distance into the Mauryan lands without being summarily ejected. The successors of Asoka were no credit to the Mauryan line, but for about a quarter of a century after Asoka's death they are likely to have been hedged about by the reputation of the great Mauryas. But, by about 206 B.C., one of Asoka's sons seems to have raised himself to power in Kashmir, disowned subordination to Pāṭaliputra and marched down into the plains as far as Kanouj with conquering arms; the regions near Kābul seem to have become independent under a Subhāgasēna; a Greek king, Antiochus raided some of the dominions of the empire and the Mauryan power lost its hold over the Madhyadēśa. Even in Asoka's days the provinces were disaffected as a result of ministerial oppression, and it is not improbable that when the masterful hand of Asoka was withdrawn the outlying provinces fell off from the empire the disintegration of which proceeded apace.[2] Though we have no definite information in regard to the imperial provinces, we may infer that from 206 B.C., to the rise of Pushyamitra in 184 B.C., the confusion in the empire might have afforded opportunities for the northward sallies of the Tamil kings. If, however, we accept the view that the Āndhra kings Simuka and Krishṇa rose to power in this period we cannot but admit that the ambitions of any Tamil king, who wended his steps northward intent on conquest would have received short shrift at the hands of the Āndhras. But recently the histories of the Āndhras and the Śatakarṇis and of king Khāravēla of Kaliṅga have been the subject of considerable speculation and we cannot now speak with confidence of the political condition of the Dekkhan of this period. That the Āndhras had spread almost from sea to sea at such an early date has been questioned and a *prima facie* case has been made out for doubting whether the Śatavāhanas and the Āndhras were so closely related as has been believed till now and for holding that the two might even have been distinct families.[3] The date of Khāravēla has also become a vexed question in recent years, opinion being divided on whether he is to be placed in the second or the first century B.C. In the absence of a decision on this point it is not easy to say who the Śatakarṇi was who is said to

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[1] Smith, *EHI*[3], 148-9.
[2] Smith, *EHI*[3], 194-5; Dr. H. C. Raychaudhury, *JASB*. N.S. xvi. 305-312.
[3] Dr. V. S. Sukthankar, *ABI*. i. 21-42.

have been Khāravēla's contemporary. But it is clear that the last of the Imperial Mauryas was slain in 184 B.C. by Pushyamitra who placed himself immediately upon the vacant throne of Magadha grew to such power as to turn back Menander, to proclaim himself Lord Paramount of Northern India and to revive the long abandoned ceremony of the *Aśvamēdha*. He died in 148 B.C., but his successors did not sit firmly on the throne and were not able to stem the tide of a powerful invasion. Then came the Kaṇvas, kings of whom very little is known except that the last of them was slain in 27 B.C. by a king of the Śatavāhanas. However, even those who argue for a late date for Khāravēla of Kaliṅga do not take him lower down this latter date and we may therefore take it that it would then have been impossible for a southern king to have marched by an eastern route to Magadha. Had he sought to advance by a western route the Śatakarṇi who was Khāravēla's contemporary would not have permitted him to march into his dominions, unless he had chosen to ally himself with the intruder. This supposition would apply to his successors also. The Śatakarṇi kings had risen to considerable power by then and they were, shortly after, in possession of all Dekkhan, between the two Ghats. Any Tamilian invader of north India who had not secured the goodwill and the connivance of the Śatavāhanas would, therefore, have found his way blocked effectively. By the time that the Āndhra country came to fall under the yoke of the Śatavāhanas, the Mālwa country, it has been surmised shrewdly, had already passed into their hands.[1] A dynasty so powerful as this one was would not easily have consented to allow a Tamil king to go north on a mission of conquest,[2].

[1] Dr. V. S. Sukthankar, *ABI.*, i. 36.

Are the Śatakarṇis the Nūṟṟuvar Kaṇṇar?

[2] One circumstance, however, makes it desirable to enquire carefully into the history of the Śatakarṇi kings, which is that there is the possibility of their being the 'Nūṟṟuvar Kaṇṇar' or the 'Hundred Kannar' or 'the Hundred Aryan kings' of the *Śilappadikāram* who, as has already been said, helped Śeṅguṭṭuvan by providing boats for his army to cross the Ganges. It will be remembered that an embassy from the Kaṇṇar called on him when he was encamped at the foot of the Nilgiris on his second expedition towards the Himalāyas and that the embassy promised a flotilla of boats to cross the Ganges. (For another reference, in the Śaṅgam literature, to boats on the Ganges, see the *Naṟṟiṇai*, clxxxix; கங்கை வங்கம் போகுவர் கொல்லோ.) If we accept the contention that the Śatavāhanas, that is the race to which the Śatakarṇi kings belonged, occupied the *Śatavāhaniraṭṭha* which is the country round about Adoni in the Bellary District—(Dr. Sukthankar, *ABI.* i. 49, who goes further and contends that it was their original home)—we would find nothing surprising in the Śatakarṇi king concluding an alliance with the Chera king who was his neighbour in all probability. We find the Chera king exalted above the 'Hundred Kaṇṇar' in the *Śilappadikāram*, but that is no reason to discredit the suggestion that the Hundred Kaṇṇar were the Śatavāhanas.

though the Tamil king's enemy might have been that dynasty's enemy also. But the Śatakarṇi kings of the period when the dynasty was struggling for power would not have despised an alliance with the powerful kings of the Tamil country and would not have been loth to use them for their own purposes. It is thus necessary to place Śeṅguṭṭuvaṉ in the period of the infancy of the Śatakarṇi power if we are to hold that the necessity for their combining against common enemies was responsible for the Śatakarṇis permitting Śeṅguṭṭuvaṉ to pass through their country.

Condition of north India at time of Tamil invasions.

It is noteworthy that though Karikālaṉ conquered Magadha he entered into what were probably treaties of peace with the kings

Origin of names Śatakarṇi and Śatavāhana.

Various explanations of the origin of the names Śatavāhana and Śatakarṇi,—it seems possible that the former was used for the race and the latter for the kings,—have been offered, but none of them is satisfactory. The real explanation will be found only when we are able to say why in these two names the words *vāhana* and *karṇi* are used almost synonymously. To take *karṇi* to mean 'one who has an ear' explains nothing whatsoever. *Karṇi* however means also 'a kind of arrow (the top being shaped like an ear)' and a certain appropriateness in the word being applied to the Śatakarṇis might be discerned in their use of the arrow as a symbol on many of their coins. But it is not easy to reconcile this explanation with the fact that the term *Śatakarṇi* has an almost exact synonym in *Śatavāhana*. The real explanation must therefore be sought in an interpretation which would explain both terms. A second meaning of *karṇa* is 'that which has a helm,' or rather, 'a ship', and the allied word *karṇi* denotes 'a steersman. A Śatakarṇi may therefore be taken to be one who owned a hundred boats or ships or one who employed a hundred steersmen. The cognate form *karṇa* means 'a helm or a rudder of a ship' and the term *Śatakarṇa* might have been applied to one who owned a 'hundred helms.' Turning to the word *vāhana*, we find it used for a vehicle, and its variant *vāhanā* is used for an 'oar' or 'sail' (*Rāmāyana*, 54, 5, quoted by Monier Williams in his *Dictionary*). Śatakarṇa and Śatavāhana will both be seen to have reference to boats or ships if this suggestion is accepted. Some of the Āndhra coins bear the effigy of a 'ship with two masts' and 'the Ujjain symbol' on them 'indicates the Satavāhana dynasty' (Dr. Jouveau-Dubreuil, *AHD.*, 47). The effigy of the ship was probably used by the Śatavāhanas as a kind of pictorial representation of their family name.

The thought naturally strikes us that the term Śatakarṇi or its variant, *Śatakarṇa*, was adopted in Tamil in a kind of translation. The Sanskrit word *Śatam* has its equivalant in the Tamil *Nūṟu* and the Sanskrit *karṇa* must occur in Tamil in the form *kaṇṇa* for the *rṇa* of Sanskrit assumes the form *ṇṇa* in Tamil (examples being *kaṇṇāḍakam*, *kaṇṇapūshaṇam*, *paṇṇam*, *śoṇṇam*, *vaṇṇam*). So, if we take it that the word *karṇa* was already available in Tamil in the form *kaṇṇa* and that it was necessary only to translate the word *śatam*, we see clearly that the term *Śatakarṇa* could have become *Nūṟṟuvar Kaṇṇar* or the Hundred Kaṇṇar in Tamil. The formation of such hybrid words is not unusual in the language of the Śaṅgam literature. Two poetesses of that age are known respectively as Kāmakkaṇṇi-Paśalaiyār and Veṇi-pidiya-Kāmakkaṇṇiyār; the former sang poem 243 in the *Naṟṟiṇai* and the latter sang, among others, poems 22 and 98 in the *Ahanāṉūṟu*. Their proper name Kāmakkaṇṇi (of which Kāmakkaṇi is only a contraction) is made up of Sanskrit *kāma* and Tamil *kaṇṇi* and is used as an equivalent of the Sanskrit Kāmākshi (*Kāma* and *akshi*). Evidently the Sanskrit word *kāma* had come into currency in the Tamil of the Śaṅgam days (see காமங் காதலர் கையற விடினே, *Kuṟum-tokai*, clii. and காமங் கைம்மிகக் கையறு துயரம், *Naṟṟiṇai*, clxxxv. 2), while the word *akshi* still required to be translated if it was to be understood. It is by a similar process that the term Nūṟṟuvar-Kaṇṇar should also have been evolved. Nor can there be a doubt whether the Satakarṇis were known to the Tamils;

of Avanti and Vajra. So too, while Śeṅguṭṭuvaṉ attacked North Kōśala he allied himself with the 'Mālwa kings.' This would show that the age of Karikālaṉ and Śeṅguṭṭuvaṉ must have been a period in which, *firstly*, Magadha and North Kōśala were weak, *secondly*, the Mālwa kings,— evidently the Lords of East Mālwa, for it is East Mālwa that is close to the Ganges,— were masters of both banks of the Ganges but were not sufficiently strong to attack North Kōśala by themselves and, *thirdly*, Avanti, (or Ujjain that is, Central Mālwa), was (at least in the days of Karikālaṉ) strong enough to command respect. The little that is known with precision in regard to the condition of the Mālwa countries during this period does not help us in any appreciable degree to determine even the century in which these conditions were satisfied.

India in the time of the Satakarnis.

The acceptance of a late date for Khāravēla and his contemporary Śatakarṇi would make it clear that in the first century of the Christian era the Śatakarṇis were very powerful and controlled the whole of the Dekkhan from Ghat to Ghat and would have been too proud to have sought the help of a Tamil king.[1] Faith in the theory that Khāravēla and Śatakarṇi belong to the early half of the second century B.C. makes no essential difference in our view of the history of the Dekkhan in so far as it affects the chances of a Tamil king crossing the land of the Śatakarṇis without their permission, for it has been said that 'although inscriptions and coins afford

the ship-coins are 'found almost exclusively on the coast between Madras and Cuddalore' (Dr. Jouveau-Dubreuil, *AHD.* 47; Prof. E. H. Rapson, *Cat. Coins Andhra Dys.*, 20-1), and an ancient Tamil work, now lost, bore the name *Śātavāhaṇam* (see the *Perum-kaṭai*, ed. by Mahāmahōpādhyāya V. Swaminatha Aiyar, xxxiii.)

The difficulties.

If we could take the identity of the *Nūṟṟuvar Kaṇṇar* with the *Śatakarṇis* to be established, we have to reconcile the facts that the Satakarṇis seem to have been in possession of the Bellary district, that the coins bearing the ship-device belong to the late period when they had conquered the Āndhra country and had established their power over the Coromandel coast where those coins are generally found, and that they were willing to ally themselves with Śeṅguṭṭuvaṉ and to oblige him by helping his troops to cross the Ganges. Here is indeed a budget of difficulties; but some light is thrown by the fact that those who prided themselves on a hundred ships were ready and even anxious to provide boats to ply on the Ganges.

Probable origin of Satakarṇis.

Is it likely that the Śatakarṇis were originally settled along the Ganges and came to prominence as owners of boats and is it likely also that when they migrated southward and rose to kingly power they were able to control both their home-lands and the land of their subsequent adoption? It has been said that the Māḷavas 'when they established their sway in Central India . . . seem to have had a democratic constitution.' (Indrāji, *Early History of Gujarat*, in the *Bombay Gazetteer*, I. i. 28). If this was so, it is not unlikely that the term Śatakarṇi applied to the group of numerous chiefs who led the Māḷavas. Some support for this view will be found in the fact that the term Nūṟṟuvar-Kaṇṇar is indubitably in the plural. The question is so beset with difficulties that a decided opinion is not yet possible.

[1] Dr. Jouveau-Dubreuil, *AHD.* 44–5.

no exact dates for the beginning and the end of the Āndhra empire, yet their evidence, which seems to show that this empire began soon after the death of Asoka (232 or 231 B.C.) and continued until some period in the third century A.D., is quite in accordance with ' the statements in the various Puranas.[1] At any rate, from the beginning of about 110 A.D. the history of the Śatakarṇis becomes much clearer. Under Gautamīputra-Śrī-Śatakarṇi their territories included 'the present province of Gujarat, portions of Mālwa, Central India, and Berar, the Northern Konkan, and the portion of the Bombay Presidency lying immediately north of Nasik.'[2] His son Vāsishṭhīputra Śrī-Pulumāvi held Āndhra-dēśa including Amarāvati in the Kistna district, northern Mahārāshṭra, the Coromandel Coast and Central India in addition to other provinces.[3] Then came Śiva-Śrī-Śatakarṇi and Śrī-Chandra-Sati of whom little is known.[4] Gautamīputra Śrī-Yajña-Śatakarṇi was in possession of the lands mentioned above as having been controlled by his family.[5] After him came a partition of the empire, probably about the end of the 2nd century, but the two branches do not seem to have immediately sunk into insignificance, though a few decades later the Śatakarṇis ceased to be of any importance.[6]

In the third century A.D.

The third century A.D. is a period for which we have no reliable data and no unmistakable landmark. A close investigation of the material available for the period leads to no conclusion but that 'upon the whole, the history of the Dekkhan in the third century is not well understood'[7] and that 'the period between the extinction of the Kushan and Āndhra dynasties and the rise of the Imperial Gupta dynasty, nearly a century later, is one of the darkest in the whole range of Indian history.'[8] To place Karikālaṉ and Śeṅguṭṭuvaṉ in this period would, therefore, be to thrust an inconvenient problem out of the way and not to find a solution for it.

Under the Guptas.

From about 320 A.D. we have the phenomenal rise of the Imperial Guptas in Magadha; they rapidly spread over the Gangetic basin, and under Samudragupta, (326-375 A.D.), they conquered very large areas of north India and the Dekkhan. Whatever reason there may be to impeach the various estimates of the extent of Samudragupta's conquests,[9] there can be no doubt whatever that he was able to make himself supreme over the

[1] Prof. E. H. Rapson, *Cat. Coins Andhra Dyn.*, xxvi.
[2] *Ib.* xxxv. [3] *Ib.* xxxix. [4] *Ib.* xl.
[5] *Ib.* xli–xlii. [6] *Ib.* xliii–xlv. [7] Dr. Jouveau-Dubreuil, *AHD.*, 57.
[8] Smith, *EHI*[3], 276. [9] Dr. Jouveau-Dubreuil, *AHD.*, 58–61.

whole of North India. The empire thus established by him continued almost undiminished in extent and in lustre under his immediate successors, and not even when the rod of empire came to be wielded by rulers of inferior mettle did the major portion of the Gangetic basin pass out of their hands. There is enough evidence to prove that, diminished as their empire was, they must have been strong enough to hold at least Magadha against all odds.[1] There can therefore be no warrant for a theory which would assume that Karikālaṉ and Śeṅguṭṭuvaṉ could have invaded the regions of the Gangetic basin at a time when Samudragupta and his able successors were on the throne. Recent research has proved that at least to the end of the sixth century A.D. the Imperial Guptas were not weak enough to succumb to any invader from the distant Tamil country.

South India and the Pallavas.

Apart from the rise to power of the Guptas in north India we have the circumstance that at about the same time there was coming into prominence in south India, and in the Tamil country itself, a famous dynasty of kings known as the Pallavas. One of the most powerful of the opponents of Samudragupta was Vishṇugōpa of Kāñchī or Kāñchīpuram (325-350), and the successors of Vishṇugōpa were men of ability. For a century and a half, beginning from about 400 A.D., the Pallavas ruled from two capitals, one of which was Kāñchī. The existence of the Pallava power in the Tamil country is inconsistent not only with the claim of Karikālaṉ, supported by numerous Tamil texts, that he vanquished the kings of all the countries surrounding his own kingdom but also with the possibility of the Chera king Śeṅguṭṭuvaṉ finding himself free to leave his kingdom and invade north India more than once.[2]

North India under Yaśōdharman.

The opening years of the sixth century A.D. find Yaśōdharman ruling over Eastern Mālwa, valiantly heading a resurgent India against the persistent onslaughts and inroads of the Huns till his death in 533 A.D., and achieving a reputation second to that of none of the emperors famous in Indian history.[3] It is unthinkable that a king so strong as Yaśōdharman would have stooped to an alliance with Śeṅguṭṭuvaṉ for the purpose of conquering North Kōśala.

[1] Prof. R. C. Majumdar in *IA.* xlvii. 61-7 and Prof. R. G. Basak in *EI.* xv. 115-129.

[2] Dr. Jouveau-Dubreuil, *AHD.* 62-70.

[3] K. P. Jayaswal, in *IA.* xlvi. 145-153.

Under the Maukharis.

From about 535 A.D. onward the Maukharis were in possession of Magadha for a period of over half a century and were strong enough to hold the Huns at bay and to defeat the king of distant Gujarat and the hosts of the Āndhras. Perhaps they held sway over a large portion of North India.[1]

Chola reverses between 575 and 600 A.D.

Between 575 and 600 A.D. the Pallava king, Simhavishṇu of Kāñchī was able to defeat the Chola king and reach the banks of the Kāvēri and also defeat the Pāṇḍyas, the Kēraḷas, the Malayas, the Kalabhras and the Māḷavas.[2] The period in which he was on the throne could not have been the period, therefore, of either Karikālaṉ or Śeṅguṭṭuvaṉ.

The Dekkhan from 400 to 500 A.D.

The great power known as the Vākāṭakas rose in the Dekkhan about the year 400 A.D. and attained considerable distinction and exercised great power. For them it is claimed that they 'reigned over an empire that occupied a very central position and it is through this dynasty that the high civilization of the Gupta empire and the Sanskrit culture in particular spread throughout the Dekkhan,' and the confident conclusion has been reached that 'between 400 A.D. and 500 A.D. the Vākāṭakas occupied a predominant position and we may say that "in the history of the Dekkhan the fifth century is the century of the Vākāṭakas."'[3] So centrally situated was the kingdom and so strong were its rulers that the Tamil kings would not have been able to force their way through to the Ganges.

The North and the South from 500 to 650 A.D.

In the first quarter of the sixth century, the Pallava emperor, Mahēndravarman was on the throne of Kāñchī. Though Mahēndravarman was hard pressed by Pulakēśin II, the Chalukyan Emperor, to whom had to be ceded some districts, he was able later to inflict a heavy defeat on his adversary at Pullalūr.[4] The Chola or the Chera might have been able to defeat Mahēndravarman but neither of them would have made any headway in north India till the close of the first half of that century for the reason that the great Harsha was the Emperor of north India down to 647 A.D. as also because Pulakēśin I himself had come to be so powerful in the Dekkhan as to be able to resist the advance of Harsha.

Close of 7th century A.D.

The confusion that followed the death of Harsha makes it impossible to say what became of Magadha but it has been presumed, with much probability, that it passed under Ādityasēna the Later Gupta who celebrated the *Aśvamēdha* sacrifice for

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[1] See the accompanying paper on the Maukharis.

[2] Dr. Jouveau-Dubreuil, *AHD*. 69.

[3] *Ib*. ...

[4] *Ib*. 69.

undisputed supremacy over the adjacent countries. The kings who immediately succeeded Ādityasēna do not seem to have lost much of the power which he had been able to win. The seventh century may therefore be said to close with the Later Guptas seated impregnably on the Magadhan throne.

Karikālaṉ certainly earlier than 650 A.D.

Karikālaṉ has been mentioned in a hymn[1] by Jñānasambhanda whose date is about the first half of the seventh century. It has been suggested[2] that the word *Karikālaṉ* in the hymn need not contain a reference to the king and may be a name of Śiva; but the suggestion does not affect the validity of the antiquity assigned to the king, for a hymn of Tiru-Nāvukku-Araśu, the famous elder contemporary of Jñānasambandha, refers quite unmistakably to an old tradition which represents Śiva as having had a disputation with Nak-Kīrar, a poet *par excellence* of the Śaṅgam.[3] The vogue of this tradition in the days of these poets shows that even by then the memory of the Śaṅgam must have become quite dim. The connection of Karikālaṉ and Śeṅguṭṭuvaṉ with the poets of the Śaṅgam, being indisputable, the conclusion is irresistible that they could not have lived after the first half of the seventh century A.D., and it consequently becomes unnecessary to pursue any further our survey of the political condition of the Dekkhan or of north India for the purpose of settling the date of the Śaṅgam.

Bird's eye view.

We may now sum up the results of this survey. The invasions of north India which have been considered in this paper could not have happened in the hundred years that elapsed between Chandragupta Maurya becoming king of Magadha and the death of Asoka. The history of the succeeding period is so unsettled that we do not know if the invasions were possible in that period,—though we may be positive that Magadha could not have been invaded when Pushyamitra ruled over it between 184 and 148 B.C. It seems to be established beyond cavil that the Śatakarṇis were powerful in the first and the second centuries of the Christian era and it is almost improbable that they would then have been

[1] விண்ணுளார் மறைகள் வேதம் விரித்தோதுவார்
கண்ணுளார் கழலின் வெல்வார் கரிகாலனை
நண்ணுவாரெழில்கொள் கச்சிநகரேகம்பத்
தண்ணலாராடுகின்றவலங்காரமே

Tevāram, hymn மறையானை on Tirukkachchiyekambam, st. 7.

[2] By Mr. K. G. Sesha Aiyar, Retired Judge of the High Court, Trivandrum, in a kind letter to me. See also, M. Sundaram Pillai's *Milestones*, 23.

[3] நன்பாட்டுப்புலவனாய்ச்சங்கமேறி
நற்கனகக்கிழிதருமிக்கருளினோன்காண்

Tevāram, Tirupputtūr (*Tiruttāṇḍagam*), st. 3.

content to play second fiddle to the Tamil kings. The third century A.D. is so obscure that no valid conclusions could be drawn. In the fourth and the fifth centuries the Guptas were so strong that no king from the south would have dared march up to the Ganges. The sixth century affords no opening for the Tamil kings to march to Magadha intent on conquest. In the first half of the seventh century they could not have crossed the Krishṇa and in the second half they could not have defeated the Later Guptas. The next century is too late for either Karikālaṉ or Śeṅguṭṭuvaṉ.

Conclusions.

This process of elimination leads to the conclusion that Karikālaṉ, Imayavarambaṉ and Śeṅguṭṭuvaṉ could not have undertaken their northern invasions— within the upper and the lower limits we have adopted,— in any period other than the one between 208 and 184 B.C. or that from 148 B.C. down to the early years of the Christian era, or again, in the third century A.D.

These are only provisional.

We cannot, however, blind ourselves to the fact that our appreciation of the political condition of the various parts of India in the ten centuries we have passed in rapid review is based on wholly inadequate material, and it may not surprise us if new discoveries make one or more of these periods incompatible with the north Indian invasions of the three Tamil kings or point to other periods as more suitable. Till Indian history speaks with a more certain voice we may take it that the evidence now available is clear that the period of the Śaṅgam in which Karikālaṉ, Imayavarambaṉ and Śeṅguṭṭuvaṉ played the patrons of its poets could by no means be later than the third century A.D.

These do not depend on the equation that 'Mukari' is 'Maukhari.'

Mukari has received much more than a due share of our attention by reason of the possibility of his being a Maukhari and the Maukharis would in the following pages be receiving even more of attention for the reason that the investigation of their history from the earliest times is necessary to establish that many of them were insignificant enough to have succumbed to an enterprising invader from the far south, but it ought not to be assumed that the supposition that the Mukari of the *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi* was a Maukhari of Magadha, is an integral part of our theory of the age of the Śaṅgam. Nor even is it necessary for our purpose to show that Mukari was not the name of a place. The stanza in the *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi* referring to Mukari and all the incidental discussion about the building of the embankments of the Kāvēri and the equation that Mukari is Maukhari may be excised completely without affecting in the least the soundness of our contentions in respect of the age to which the Śaṅgam has to be assigned.

The Tamil invasions are attested to by unimpeachable contemporary poems.

Karikālan's conquest of Magadha and Imayavarambaṉ's and Śeṅguṭṭuvaṉ's northern expeditions are set forth unmistakably and unequivocally in the *Śilappadikāram*, the *Ahanāṉūṟu*, the *Pattuppāṭṭu* and the *Padiṟṟuppattu*. Whatever doubts there may be about the first of these works having been written contemporaneously with Śeṅguṭṭuvaṉ, there can be no doubt that the rest are unimpeachable as records contemporary with him, with Karikālaṉ and with Imayavarambaṉ. Our belief in the probability of Imayavarambaṉ's northern incursions depends on the measure of our faith in the truth of his poet's panegyrics. On a consideration of the statements in the *Śilappadikāram* about Karikālaṉ's and Śeṅguṭṭuvaṉ's invasions of the Gangetic and trans-Gangetic countries in the light of the unquestioned references in the *Ahanāṉūṟu*, the *Pattuppāṭṭu* and the *Padiṟṟuppattu* recording the invasions of Imayavarambaṉ and Śeṅguṭṭuvaṉ, the cumulative effect produced on the mind is that none of these invasions is an improbability. On the basis of the literature of the Śaṅgam itself we may therefore maintain that north India was invaded by these kings.

Story of Mukari is consistent with what is otherwise known.

The story of Mukari and the raising of the embankments of the Kāvēri are circumstances which not only fit in with other events and facts known to us but also throw a flood of light on them. Confirmation of Karikālaṉ's conquest of Magadha comes from the *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi* story of the unfortunate Mukari and we are therefore justified in claiming that Karikālaṉ conquered a Maukhari. If stray statements, when brought together, fit into a consistent story we cannot refuse to evaluate the evidence on the basis of the cumulative effect.

The *Śilappadikāram* and the *Maṇimēkalai*, not parts of a legendary 'cycle.'

We have thus far proceeded on the assumption that the classical works ascribed to the period of the Tamil Śaṅgam contain material which we could implicitly rely upon for purposes of history. The reliability of these works for purposes of historical investigation has not been yet impugned with success, and such examination as they have been subjected to,—as in this paper,—seems to establish their veracity. Even if it is shown that the *Śilappadikāram* is not a reliable record of facts or that it was not written by Śeṅguṭṭuvaṉ's brother as it professes to have been, the *Pattuppāṭṭu*, the *Padiṟṟuppattu* and the *Ahanāṉūṟu* will still remain unassailed. We do not therefore see any reason to abandon the theory advanced here that Karikālaṉ might have conquered one of the Maukharis of Magadha or the contentions set forth in regard to the chronology of the Śaṅgam. If, however, it turns out in the end that the *Śilappadikāram*, the *Ahanāṉūṟu*, the *Pattuppāṭṭu* and the

Padirruppattu are all unreliable, it might become necessary to adopt the suggestion that 'the real explanation of a good deal that has puzzled the critics in regard to the *Śilappadikāram* and the *Maṇimēkalai*' may have to be found in an assumption that the 'Kōvalaṉ-Kaṇṇaki legend' became a 'literary cycle' which was 'celebrated by the Tamil poets, as a sort of golden age of Tamil literature, long after the kings themselves and their generation had passed away."[1] This assumption would administer the *coup de grace* to any attempt at utilizing these works for historical purposes, and it would absolve us from the necessity of striving for an explanation of difficult points. Gajabāhu may be explained away as an interloper and the Nūrruvar Kannar as a confused reminiscence of some unknown kings and so on, indefinitely. The poet, it may be argued, had put in Magadha and Avanti because he thought that his mythical Karikālaṉ would be a tinsel hero if he was not to be credited with the conquest of one of the ancient imperial cities and an alliance with the ruler of another.

Early Tamil literature is excellent raw material for history.

At the present time, however, such a hypothesis is not only unnecessary but also quite opposed to the evidence. It has yet to be shown that the early Tamil works are unreliable as raw material for history, and it would seem, as is evident from the examination to which they have been subjected thus far, that Tamil literature is not incapable of yielding a trustworthy account of historical facts and events. History need not yet surrender to Mythology.

[1] L. D. Swamikannu Pillai, *An Indian Ephemeris, A.D. 700 to A.D. 1799*, I. i. 460 *n*.

THE KAVERI AND MUKARI.

Branches of the Kāvēri.

A history of the Kāvēri will inevitably include the history of all the ancient kingdoms of the extreme south of India, except perhaps the Pāṇḍyan, but the history of the land along its lower course would greatly surpass in interest that of the countries in which its upper course lies. At the head of the island of Śrīraṅgam the river branches off into two, and acquires the tendency to branch off again and again, till, having given birth to the Tanjore delta and grown more and more attenuated, it becomes an insignificant streamlet the thin waters of which vanish into the thirsty sands of Kāvērippaṭṭiṇam, within almost a few yards of the sea. But we seem also to have glimpses of an earlier stage when the Kāvēri was a river of very respectable proportions at its mouth at Kāvērippaṭṭiṇam, and the land through which it passed was liable to be devastated by floods. Hence it was that Karikālaṉ had to raise flood-banks for the river. It may be that in those days there were very few branches springing from the Kāvēri and distributing its waters over a wide area, but we have not the means of proving if it was so. One of the two earliest references in Tamil literature to branches of the Kāvēri is where in the *Śilappadikāram* the deity Vishṇu is spoken of as lying recumbent in Śrīraṅgam, 'a large island in the wide billows of the Kāvēri';[1] this would be conclusive proof of the existence of the Koḷḷiḍam in those days were it not that tradition points to the possibility of the two arms of the Kāvēri having met again below the island so as to flow along as a single river. The other reference is to be found in the *Naṟṟiṇai* where the Ariśilāṟu, a branch of the Kāvēri to this day, is mentioned as flowing beside the village of Ambal.[2]

A delta in Jñānasambandha's days.

If the Ceylon accounts are true that Karikālaṉ's flood-banks skirted the river to a distance of about 100 miles,—and the Tillastāṉam inscription proves that it might well have been so—

[1] நீல மேக நெடும்பொற் குன்றத்துப்
பால்விரிந் தகலாது படிந்தது போல
வாயிரம் விரித்தெழு தலையுடை யருந்திறற்
பாயற் பள்ளிப் பலர்தொழு தேத்த
விரிதிரைக் காவிரி வியன்பெருந் துருத்தித்
திருவமர் மார்பன் கிடந்த வண்ணமும் xi (*Kāḍukāṇ*-), 35-40.

[2] வம்பணி யுயர்கொடி யம்பர் சூழ்ந்த
வரிசில். cxli. 10-11.

we should have to take it that they began practically from the island of Śrīraṅgam. The successors of Karikālaṉ might have been far-sighted enough to have realized that the copious waters of the river which were wasting themselves into the sea might be used to irrigate the country round about and they might have started cutting channels to take water off from the Kāvēri. After the *Śilappadikāram* and the *Naṟṟiṇai* we have to pass down to the days of Jñānasambandha—the first half of the 7th century A.D.,—to find in his psalms one reference to the Koḷḷiḍam, a few references to the Ariśilāṟu and some of the other branches of the Kāvēri and four or five to a river called the Paḷaṅkāvēri (the Old Kāvēri). When we find that in the days of Karikālaṉ the river worked havoc, in all probability because of having too few branches, and that, in the days of Jñānasambandha, the river and some of its branches irrigated a delta which was widely known for its great fertility,—and what is more, when we find that thereafter we have no trace of complaint against the proclivities of the river to lay the country under floods, and when we also find the port of Kāvērippaṭṭiṇam sinking into insignificance,—though at that time the country round about it was growing, and ever since has been steadily growing, in importance and prosperity,—a suggestion may be hazarded that the process of attenuating the river by taking off from it a series of channels was started by the successors of Karikālaṉ and had been carried through to good purpose by the days of Jñānasambandha.

It may be that the first blow at the importance of the port of Kāvērippaṭṭiṇam was the event recorded in the *Maṇimēkalai* in some detail. The Chola king of the time having lost his son at sea wandered along the beach, distraught with grief, and the people abandoned in consequence the usual festival to Indra; thereupon, the patron deity of the city grew wrath and laid a curse on it. The sea quickly overwhelmed the city and in consequence the king betook himself elsewhere.[1] This account does not make it clear whether Kāvērippaṭṭiṇam was completely ruined and leaves us in doubt whether the present village is a fraction of the ancient city or is a new hamlet sprung from the carcase of a city long defunct. The other blows to befall it were probably the cutting of channels to divert the water from the main river Kāvēri for irrigating areas not served by it. We might, therefore, conclude that the palmiest days of that city were those of

The Kāvēri and Kāvērippaṭṭiṇam.

[1] xxv, 178–204.

Karikālaṉ and of the composition of the *Śilappadikāram*. But we find it mentioned as an important port in the *Geography* of Ptolemy, the classical geographer, astronomer, mathematician and musician who flourished about the middle of the 2nd century A.D. Ptolemy mentions 'Khabēris, an emporium' which has been identified with Kāvērippaṭṭiṉam. He mentions also the 'Mouth of the River Khabēros' which has been recognized as the mouth of the river Kāvēri.[1] Two points seem to emerge from his mention of these two places. The first is that while Ptolemy gives 128° 30′ and 15° 40′ for Khabēris,—Ptolemy had worked out a system of reckoning by latitudes and longitudes,—he gives 129° and 15° 15′ for the mouth of the Khabēros. Howsoever we might frame a system of latitudes and longitudes and howsoever we might work it, we cannot arrive at the results he gives for two places in such juxtaposition as we are accustomed to associate with Kāvērippaṭṭiṉam and the mouth of the Kāvēri.[2] Is it likely that Ptolemy was misled by the authorities on whom he relied? Or is it possible that by Ptolemy's days the city and the river had divorced themselves? The second point is that in Ptolemy's days the mouth of the Kāvēri, as distinguished from Kāvērippaṭṭiṉam was a spot of importance. Had the Kāvēri been at its mouth the insignificant stream which it now is, it is most unlikely to have been noted and made special mention of by Ptolemy. To admit

The times of Karikālan and Ptolemy.

[1] McCrindle in *IA.* xiii. 332-3.

[2] Yule in his map of Ancient India, in Müller's *Atlas of Ancient Geography* (ed. by Smith and Grove) treats the present Koḷḷiḍam as the Kāvēri and places Kāvērippaṭṭiṉam about eight miles to the south of the mouth of the river which he calls the Kāveri. While the earliest Tamil classics place Kāverippaṭṭiṉam right on the north bank of the Kāvēri, Ptolemy places it, according to Yule, some miles to the south of that river. Our confidence in the early geographers and cartographers is often misplaced; for an instance, in respect of South Indian geography, see the note of Yule on page 32 of the Introduction to the above *Atlas*: 'Lassen asks, why should the Pennār appear, and the great Gōdāvari be omitted? We cannot say why; but it is a curious fact that in many maps of the 16th, 17th, and even of the 18th century, the Gōdāvari continues to be omitted altogether.' None the less, we might reconcile Ptolemy with the Tamil classics if we assume that in his days the Koḷḷiḍam and the Kāvēri were both known and that both were known by the same name. We might then suppose that the *Brihat-Samhita* when it mentioned the Kāvēri in the plural, *Kāvēryah*, (xiv. 13; see also *IA.* xxii, 181), did take note of the fact of the same name being commonly applied to the main river and its branch. But there being some reason to believe that the splitting up of the Kāvēri began after the Śaṅgam and that the Kāvēri had more branches than one in the days of Jñānasambandha and there being no doubt that the *Brihat-Samhita* is closer, in point of time, to Jñānasambandha than to the Śaṅgam or to Ptolemy, it may be that the mention of a plurality of Kāvēris in the *Brihat-Samhita*, while proving the existence of the Koḷḷiḍam and other branches in Jñānasambandha's time, does not prove it as regards the times of Ptolemy or the Śaṅgam.

that in the days of Ptolemy, that is, in the middle of the first century A.D., the Kāvēri was a river of notable proportions at its junction with the sea and to admit also that probably ever since the days of the *Maṇimēkalai*, that is, one or two decades after the *Śilappadikāram* and two or three decades after Karikālaṉ, the Kāvēri had been undergoing shrinkage in its lower course and diminishing at its mouth to almost the proportions of an Euclidean point, would not amount, however, to an admission that the dates of Karikālaṉ and Ptolemy could not have been far distant from each other; for we do not know with certainty for how long before and after Karikālaṉ's times 'the damsel Kāvēri ran due east and appeared near Kāvērippaṭṭiṉam in an expanse of swelling waters'[1] nor yet the period when its attenuation started or the rate at which it progressed.

There is a wide-spread belief that the Kāvēri flowed much farther north than now; there is even a tradition that the Koḷḷiḍam is the real Kāvēri. The tradition has its counterpart in the belief that the Kāvērippaṭṭiṉam of to-day does not stand on the site of the city celebrated in Tamil literature. The difficulties of the problem are greatly increased by the fact that we have both a Paḻaṅkoḷḷiḍam (or Old Koḷḷiḍam) and a Koḷḷiḍam (which, however, is not definitely called the New Koḷḷiḍam). The former flows within about a mile of the latter from which really it seems to branch off. The width of the former is about a hundred yards while that of the latter is about three furlongs. We cannot now be certain if the Koḷḷiḍam was the Kāvēri of which the Śaṅgam works make mention, nor can we now profess to decide which of the two Koḷḷidams,—the Old or the New,—is really the older. The river the width of which answers to the description of the Kāvēri in the Śaṅgam works does not now claim antiquity, and the river which has been traditionally considered the older of the two Koḷḷiḍams has not the width associated with the Kāvēri of the Śaṅgam days. If the distance between the mouth of the Koḷḷiḍam and the present-day Kāvērippaṭṭiṉam be fairly represented in the latitudes and longitudes of Ptolemy, we shall have to abandon the unanimous testimony of the most ancient among the available Tamil classics about Kāvērippaṭṭiṉam standing on the Kāvēri. We might indulge in the supposition that Kāvērippaṭṭiṉam is to be sought for elsewhere than in the sands on which lies perched the hamlet that

Traditions.

Site of Kāvērippaṭṭiṉam.

[1] *Maṇi.* (*Padikam*), 12-3. Quoted once before.

goes now by that name were it not that local traditions associate a number of places in the neighbourhood with various incidents in the story of the *Śilappadikāram.* Tradition against tradition leaves the historian in a plight identical with that in which the judge is left by oath against oath. The belief that Kāvērippaṭṭiṇam has not migrated along the sea-coast has this much at least to support it—that beside the village now going by that name are to be traced the relics of what must have been once a large city, whereas for miles higher up and lower down we do not come across sites which have the appearance of being the ruins of perished cities.

Earlier history of the Kāveri.

Do we know what the earlier history of the Kāvēri was? The Introduction to the *Maṇimēkalai* contains an account of how, in answer to the prayers of Kāntamaṉ that drought and distress might be averted, the river Kāvēri appeared beside the city called Champāpati[1] and how the local deity of the place, the Dame Champā, welcomed her and desired that the city might thereafter be called Kāvērippaṭṭiṇam after the new-comer.[2] This name Kāvērippaṭṭiṇam occurs in one of the famous Buddhist Jātakas; the Bodhisattva, who was born as Akiṭṭi is said to have 'by and by come to the kingdom Damiḷa, where dwelling in a park over against Kāvērappaṭṭana, he cultivated a mystic ecstasy and the supernatural faculties."[3] Many of the Jātaka stories were represented in the Bharhut and Sanchi stūpas of the third and second centuries B.C., and many others were told, at about the same time, just as we find them now. Though there might have been some recasting in the fifth and sixth centuries A.D., the Jātakas as we have them now seem to be really based on very old material.[4] There does not therefore seem to be much room for doubting that by the second century B.C. the name Champāpati had passed out of currency and the name Kāvērippaṭṭiṇam had taken its

[1] மாநில மடந்தைக்கு வருந்துயர் கேட்டு
வெந்திற லரக்கர்க்கு வெம்பகை நோற்ற
சம்பு வென்பாள் சம்பா பதியினள்
செங்கதிர்ச் செல்வன் றிருக்குலம் விளக்குங்
கஞ்ச வேட்கையிற் காந்தமன் வேண்ட
வமர முனிவ னகத்தியன் றனாது
கரகங் கவிழ்த்த காவிரிப் பாவை
செங்குணக் கொழுகியச் சம்பா பதியயற்
பொங்குநீர்ப் பரப்பொடு பொருந்தித் தோன்ற (*Padikam*), 6-14.

[2] என்பெயர்ப் படுத்தவில் விரும்பெயர் மூதூர்
நின்பெயர்ப் படுத்தே னீவா ழியவென
விருபாற் பெயரிய வுருகெழு மூதூர். *Ib.* 30-2.

[3] *The Jātaka*, tr. by Rouse, ed. by Cowell, iv. 150.

[4] Dr. M. Winternitz in Hastings, *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, vii. 492.

place, unless it be that we imagine that the latter name was introduced in recasting the tales.

References to embankments of or dams across the Kāveri.

Though the various literary and epigraphic authorities already referred to speak to the raising of the banks by Karikālaṉ, none of them points distinctly to a date for him. There are, however, some references not only making mention of this achievement of Karikālaṉ but also assigning him to certain dates. They may be brought together and subjected to scrutiny. Some of these references are interesting from another point of view also,—for they attribute to Karikālaṉ, not the raising of flood-banks, but the construction of a dam or barrage across the river Kāvēri, and some of these references speak of Karikālaṉ having built both a dam and the embankments. Dams across the Kāvēri and its branches are now numerous and they are well-known contrivances for diverting surplus waters into subsidiary channels, and many are the Tamil kings to whom tradition attributes the construction of dams for the improvement of the irrigation of the Tanjore delta.

Some accounts of the Kāvēri.

But, before proceeding to consider those references, we may set down some accounts of the Kāvēri which are of interest as connected with our enquiries. One of the manuscripts in the famous Mackenzie Collection preserved in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library at Madras contains a long account of how the land through which the Kāvēri flows was once subject to floods, how a prince of Ayōdhya coveted the land, settled at Trichinopoly after slaying the demon Triśiras, and reclaimed the country round about, how he and his successors dug the branches Viṇṇāṟu and Koḷḷiḍam and how one Kāvēri-Śōḷaṉ built embankments for the Kāvēri.[1] The tradition about the ancestor of the Cholas having come from Ayōdhya finds confirmation in inscriptions of the Telugu-Chōḍas and has its parallels in the accounts of the origin of other south Indian dynasties as well.[2] The account, in the manuscript, of the story of the Kāvēri and its branches seems to contain a germ of truth but we cannot subject it to critical examination till the other similar manuscripts and the epigraphic collections of the Madras Epigraphist are made available to the public.

Puranic legends.

A poetical work in Tamil called the *Vaiśiya Purāṇam* narrates an interesting story. Once upon a time the Kāvēri having breached its banks was working great destruction. At one point,

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[1] Manuscript referred to generally as 17-4-43.

[2] *MER.*, 1900, p. 17.

however, the breach could not be closed, in spite of the efforts of the Chola king and his people. One Ēraṇḍa, an ascetic who was engaged in austerities close by, being apprised of this, told the king that he would leap into the gap and stop it with his body. The king declaring that an ascetic who could derive no benefit by doing so should not sacrifice himself, made ready to follow the ascetic's plan himself. Ēraṇḍa, thereupon, asked the king to tarry and commanded a huge pile of cotton to be gathered together. In a trice it was done by one Paiya-Vāṇiya, and the cotton being let into the stream closed the gap effectually.[1] In the story as told in this work we have no mention of the building of either the embankments or the dam.

Tiruvalañjuḷi *Purāṇa.*

We have a different version of the story in the *Sthala-Purāṇa* of Tiruvalañjuḷi, a village on the banks of the Kāvēri a few miles to the west of Kumbhakonam:

> Formerly in the Government of *Kaveri Karakonda Solen*, the *Caveri* river being left to run at its pleasure was encroaching and destroying several *Gramams*, the Raja resolved to construct embankments on both sides of the river, to restrain its inundations, and proceeded to the westward, as far as *Sargagiri Parwall* and began to build embankments extending as far as the sea, when he had completed the embankments as far as *Teruvangali* a great *Biladwáram* or hollow and cavity of the extent of half a mile appeared into which the water plunging disappeared; he tried very much to lead off this water, but could not, he then went to some ancient people who dwelt there, and prostrated himself before them, and requested them to explain the remedy; they replied 'In the village of *Catur*, a *Rishi* named *Harunda Maha Rishi* performs *Tapas* under a *Kota* tree, if you go there and consult him, he will tell you how to overcome this difficulty: he accordingly went thither and visited the *Rishi* and prostrated to him and acquainted him of all the particulars, the *Rishi* answered. "Either a king like you, or a *Rishi* like me should jump into that hollow and on being buried in it *Caveri* will flow on forward;" accordingly taking leave of the *Rishi* he came by the *Billadwar*, and prepared to jump in. Meanwhile the queen coming to the knowledge of this, immediately went to the *Rishi* and prostrated to him, who blessed her with *Dirgha Sumangala Bhava* or may you live as a family woman until your death. She prayed to the *Rishi*, and said, "May your blessing not be in vain, but my

[1] Śūḍāmaṇi-Pulavar, *Vaiśiya Purāṇam* (*Paiya-Vāṇipaṉ-Śarukkam*), pp. 160–4 (Madras, 1874). This looks a very recent composition, for we find in it not only a reference to the Iraṭṭaiyar (pp. 188-192), two inseparable Tamil poets who lived about 1460 A.D., but also a reference to the city of Madras (p. 331) which was founded in 1639 A.D.

consort is now ready to jump into the *Billadwaram*, (abyss) if he does so, your blessing will be fruitless. The *Rishi* then immediately went to the *Billadwaram*, and no sooner threw himself into it than he was swallowed up, and a small *Lingam* rose there of itself; upon which the Raja was enabled to complete the embankments; founded several villages, etc.[1]

A different account of the same *Sthala-Purāṇa* is given by another writer, the most important variation being the addition of a sequel:

> The king and his suite returned to the palace; where he prosperously ruled, but the *Caveri* now did damage, by overflowing its banks; and the king went to the wilderness, and did penance, six years, on that account; when Siva, sent a shower of mud, which raised the embankment, and kept the river within its proper channel.[2]

Another account of the same *Purāṇa* presents another version:

> The sage Herandar, who occupies a prominent place in the shrine, at one time, reached the nether world, and made her (the Kāvēri) reappear on the earth and proceed further to join the Mahōdadī (Bay of Bengal) for the welfare of the Chola country.[3]

The variations in these three puranic accounts do not require to be specially analysed, for there can be little doubt that they are romantic in the extreme and embody very little of history.

We may now pass on to a consideration of those references which are less palpably romantic and seem also to afford a date for the building of the banks or of the dam. Firstly, in a certain manuscript of Ātmanāda Dēśikar's *Soḷa-Maṇḍala-Śatakam*[4] occurs a stanza attributed to Auvvai, which states that Karikālaṉ was born in the year 'blank Kali 990' and that he built the banks of the river Kāvēri. Secondly, another stanza from the text of the same *Śatakam* runs differently, giving neither the date nor the name of the king and speaking, in the same breath, of the building of

Embarkments and dams.

[1] Wilson, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Mackenzie Collection* (Madras Reprint, 1882), pp. 617-8.

[2] Taylor, *Examination of the Mackenzie MSS.*, (Reprint from *JASB.*, 1838), p. 134.

[3] P. V. Jagadisa Aiyar, *South Indian Shrines*, (1920 ed.), 81.

I have had to rely on these accounts as I have not been able to secure a copy of the original *Purāṇa*.

[4] Secured by Pandit L. Olaganatha Pillai; see his *Cholan Karikalan the First*, 40, n. iv.

தொக்க கலியின் தொளாயிரத்துத் தொண்ணூற்றின்
மிக்க கரிகால் வேந்துதித்துத்—தக்கபொன்னி
யாறுகரை கண்டான்பின் ஆதொண்டை வேந்துகச்சி
பூருசென்றான் வேளாள ரோத்து.

banks and of the constructing of a barrage.[1] This stanza bears obvious marks of corruption. Thirdly, a stanza has been quoted to the effect that in the year 'blank Śaka 990' Karikālaṉ had a barrage constructed.[2] Fourthly, among the Mackenzie Manuscripts is to be found a manuscript[3] professing to give the history of the stone barrage across the Kāvēri. It says, in prose that the barrage was constructed by the son of Parāntaka Karikālaṉ, who was born 990 years after the beginning of Kali, that in his fifty-third year, that is, in the year 1043 of Kali, he built embankments and a stone barrage[4] and that he reigned 87 years. Fifthly, the same manuscript proceeds to cite six stanzas one of which, it says, was composed when this barrage was built. The stanza which has reference to the dam says that Karikālaṉ, born in the year 'blank Kali 990', had the embankments built.[5] Sixthly, another version of this same stanza has it that Karikālaṉ had the embankments of the Kāvēri raised in 'Kali 3090'.[6]

[1] See the *Śoḷa-Maṇḍala-Śatakam*, ed. by Pandit M. Somasundara Desikar, st. 38:

செல்லார் பணியுஞ் செம்பியர்கோன் செழுங்காவிரியின்சிறந்தகரை
கல்லா லணைகட் டுதற்கேவு கருமமுடித்த சோழியர்கள்
பல்லார் மேழி நெடுங் கொடியைப் பாயும் புலியி னொடெடுத்த
வல்லாண் மையினோர் குடிவாழ்வு வளஞ்சேர் சோழ மண்டலமே.

Pandit Olaganatha Pillai gives also a reading which differs only slightly, *op. cit.* 60.

[2] *தொக்க சகனிற் றொளாயிரத்துத் தொண்ணூற்றின்*
மிக்க கரிகால் வயவேந்தன்—பக்கம்
அலைக்கும் புனற்பொன்னி யாற்றணையை யிட்டான்
மலைக்கும் கொடைக்கரத்தான் வந்து. *Ib.*

[3] R. No. 343 (b).

[4] . . . அதன்பிறகு பொன்னியாறு கரைகண்டான் ஞயிறு—அம்பத்து மூணும் வருஷம் காவேரி கரைகண்டு கல்லணையான அணை(க்)கட்டை(க்) கட்டினான்.

[5] I am setting it down in the form in which it appears in the *Triennial Catalogue* of the Library:

தொக்க (க)லியின் தொளாயிரத்துத் தொண்ணூறில்
மிக்க கரிகால வேந்துதித்து(ப்)—பக்கம்
அலைக்குந் திரைப் பொன்னியாறு கரைகண்டான்
மலைக்கு நேரான புயன்.

[6] Pandit M. Somasundara Desikar gives it by way of a note on the stanza he found in the text of the *Śōḷa-Maṇḍala-Śatakam* (p. 68) and he calls it a stray piece:

தொக்க கலியின் மூவாயிரத்துத் தொண்ணூற்றில்
மிக்க கரிகால் வேந்தனுந்தான்—பக்க
மலைக்கும் புகழ்ப்பொன்னி யாறுகரை யிட்டான்
மலைக்கும் புயத்தா னுவந்து. (விகெவி)

But he adds also that a variant reading is: *தொக்க சகனிற் றொளாயிரத்துத் தொண்ணூற்றில்*

These accounts are obviously very corrupt and the raising of embankments is confused with the building of a dam and the Kali era is confused with the Śaka[1]. Out of this tangle it is yet possible to elicit an intelligible surmise. The sixth is unique in giving a date of four digits, 'Kali 3090.' Of the others, all but the second refer to Karikālaṉ and contain dates an integral part of which is the word *tokka* or 'blank' which evidently means that a digit in the thousands place is omitted. We may first consider what date is yielded by the reading 'Kali 3090'. In this version too we find the word *tokka* occurring before the date, but as there is no Kali date of five digits we cannot take *tokka* to indicate the suppression of a digit; the word being susceptible of other meanings, such as 'in a lump,' we may assume that what was intended was the date 'Kali 3090' without addition or subtraction. This date, 'Kali 3090', being equivalent to 11 B.C., we have to take it that this version points to that year as that in which the embankments were raised. We may now pass on to enquire what figure can be placed in the thousands place in '990.' A slight examination of the problem brings out the probabilities with great clearness[2]. The present year (1925 A.D.) is 5026-7 Kali and 1847-8 Certain dates.

[1] Here is a tabular analysis:

No.	Name of King.	Event.	Date.	Banks.	Dam.
1	Karikālaṉ	Birth	*Tokka* Kali 990	Banks	...
2	Chola	Building	......	Banks	Dam
3	Karikālaṉ	Building	*Tokka* Saka 990	...	Dam
4	Karikālaṉ	Birth	*Tokka* Kali 990	Banks	Dam
5	Karikālaṉ	Birth	*Tokka* Kali 990	. .	Dam
6	Karikālaṉ	Building	*Tokka* Kali 3090	Banks	...

[2] The following table presents the numerous possibilities in a compact form. Supposing that we supply various figures in the blank indicated by the word 'tokka', that is, in the thousands place, we get certain full-fledged dates for which we have to find equivalents in the Christian reckoning. The difference in the readings which makes it doubtful if 'blank 990' is dated in the Kali or the Śaka era gives us two equivalents for each full-fledged date.

Figure supplied in 1000's place.	Consequent reading of date.	Equivalent in Christian reckoning if the date '—990' is in the	
		Kali era.	Śaka era.
...	990	2112 B.C.	1068 A.D.
1	1990	1112 "	2068 "
2	2990	112 "	3068 "
3	3990	889 A.D.	4068 "
4	4990	1889 "	5068 "

Śaka, and so the only figures that could be supplied are 1, 2, 3 or 4, if we accept the reading 'Kali' but no figure whatever can be put in if we prefer the other reading 'Śaka'. The Tamil word *tokka* is susceptible of no other meaning which will permit of any addition being made to the numerals expressing the date; so, if the suggestion that the word *tokka* may be represented by the word *blank* is not accepted we would have to take it that the date referred to is either 990 Kali, or 990 Śaka. Thus, whatever meaning we attribute to *tokka*, we are led to the conclusion that the date intended is one of these: 990, 1990, 2990, 3990, and 4990 in the Kali era, and 990 in the Śaka era. We have, thus, a number of dates to choose from, and we may equate them roughly to the years 2112, 1112, 112 B.C. and 889 and 1889 A.D. respectively, for the reading 'Kali,' and to the year 1068 A.D. for the reading 'Śaka.' The year 1889 A.D. is of course out of question, nor do we suppose that the dates 2112 and 1112 B.C. would be suggested by anyone for serious consideration; we, therefore, pass them by. The years 889 A.D. and 1068 A.D. would not suit the Karikālaṉ who built banks for the Kāvēri, for we find references to him and his banks in epigraphs which are unquestionably prior to even the earlier of these two dates. The only dates that remain are 112 B.C. and 11 B.C., and their suitability for the Karikālaṉ of the embankments, and, therefore, the Karikālaṉ of the Śaṅgam Age, has been already considered. If the reading 'Śaka', however, be preferred we would find that the Chola king who was on the throne in 1068 A.D. was Vīrarājēndra[1] and that he bore the title of Karikālaṉ.[2] Here again is a chance of one of the versions being correct; perhaps, he was responsible for a barrage across the river.[3]

[1] *MER.*, 1913, p. 105 and 1919, p. 80. [2] *SII.*, iii. 198.

[3] L. Olaganatha Pillai, *op. cit.* 60. A sluice across the Kāvēri might have been constructed about 1205-6 A.D., for helping water to flow into the Uyyakkoṇḍāṉ channel, Venkayya, *ASI.AR.*, 1903-4, p. 209 the channel itself having been certainly in existence before 1013 A.D. (*SII.* II. Intr. 7). The *Sāhityaratnākara* of Yajñanārayana Dīkshita, a Sanskrit poem on the achievements of Raghunātha, the famous Tanjore Nāyaka, mentions that the Madura Nāyaka having 'cut the great anicut across the Kāvērī' at the instance of Jagga Rāya, to prevent the junction of the two opposing armies, Raghunātha vowed that he would 'destroy in battle Jagga Rāya and his other allies and with their skulls reconstruct the anicut (Sētu across the Kāvērī), and put up there an inscription in memory of his great triumph there;' (Prof. S. Krishnaswami Ayyangar, *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, 274.) We do not know which anicut is referred to here, but it is evident that an anicut was in existence from before the days of Raghunātha (accession, *c.* 1614 A.D.). The Madras Epigraphist has secured an inscription, No. 426 of 1924, which seems to say that before 1595 A.D. Achyuta, the Tanjore Nāyaka, had to reconstruct a dam across the Kāvēri which had been breached (*MER.* 1924, p. 79 and p. 119, paras. 63, 64), perhaps owing to natural causes.

Conclusions.

In the absence of more accurate data we can reach only these conclusions: (*a*) the reading '*tokka* Kali' can be consistent only with the year 112 B.C., the equation that *tokka* means 'blank' and the building of flood-banks; (*b*) the reading 'Kali 3090' is equivalent to 11 B.C.; (*c*) the reading 'Śaka' can accord only with the year 1068 A.D., the building of a dam and the condition that *tokka* does not mean 'blank'. The conjunction of a Karikālaṉ is not proven in the former case but is proved in the latter.[1]

Mukari a place.

If the Karikālaṉ who built the flood-banks found difficulty in taking the banks in one continuous line without removing the town of Mukari from the site it occupied then, we would have to look along the Kāvēri for a place Mukari which would have stood on its very brink. But we do not now know of any place of that name which either stands, or at some time stood, on the banks of that river, and this is an additional argument against the interpretation according to which Mukari would be the name of a place.

Two manuscripts of a Tamil work on mathematics called the *Kaṇakkadikāram* contain a stanza,—but in two different versions—

[1] The manuscript in the Mackenzie Collection from which I have quoted above contains other stanzas besides the one I have used here, but on account of the corruption they have undergone they do not yield any satisfactory meaning. One of the stanzas seems to give the measurements of the embankments and another seems to record matters such as the length of the reign of Karikālaṉ. This latter one appears to be similar to a stanza quoted by Pandit Olaganatha Pillai. I am reproducing all the stanzas found in the manuscript in the hope that I would thereby be inciting others to seek for less corrupt versions.

அஞ்சிலமுடிகவி நது அனபதிமூணடளவில கஞசு காவேரிகறைகணடு—
தஞசையிலெளணபதிமூணடளவும்ரீ ரணடுநதானிருநதான்— விணபுகான்
—தன்புககான் வெநது—உ.

உசசஙகோலெணகோலுயறம்—பதினறுகோலெசசம்பிறிவாயிருவதுகோ
ல(த)ச்சன்வுமணகொளளக்—கொண்டகோலெணகோல்வளவாகோன் கண
கொளளக்—கொண்டகறை—௩.

கவறைபதினெனபானகருமறமாறயசகெவுரியதிற . பெடெனறுசெனறதி
றபின—தவறுவறு தாடசிமதுறைநாடனபதநறுகாதம—சாடசிமறையொன—
பிறபபனதான—ச.

சாலியவாகன ஞளசகரு. வடுகெள. கொலுதலுகாகு. நாலில. கொடடை
விடடுவெலியினவற—துசிலேபதசெதர். வஞசியுறை—செஞ்சியிறை. குதிகோன
—வெதியனுந்தாம.—ரு.

வலைசபதினறுவலவடுகுநாலுசிலேநானகுபேடொனறுசென்றதறபின
கொததவனுமபட்டுவெயலததஞசமானகருமஅநதணனே ஆளும்அரசு—சு.

Lines 3 and 4 of the third stanza which may be read as வளவர்கோன் கண்கொள்ளக்கொண்ட கரை speaks of 'the bank constructed by the putting out of the king's eye by the Chola king'; but the text of the manuscript is too corrupt for me to use it unhesitatingly to support my version of the story of Mukari.

The first of the stanzas above may be compared with the version given by Pandit Olaganatha Pillai, *op. cit.*, p. 40, *n.* iv.

giving the author's name and also other particulars about him.[1] One line of the stanza, in one of the versions, seems to speak of him as a resident of *Ponni Nāḍu.* The word *Nāḍu* means a 'country' and was used generally as a technical term for an administrative 'district'. We do not know now of a district of the name of Ponni and, therefore, we may take Ponni-Nāḍu to mean 'the country of the Kāvēri.' Both the manuscripts agree, however, in making the author a resident of 'the big city of Mukari.' In one of the manuscripts his father is called 'the lord of the people' of Korkai, and in the other, of Korukkai. No place of the former name is to be found anywhere near the Kāvēri, but there are a few places bearing the latter name on the banks or in the vicinity of that river. Only when we can say that Mukari must have been quite close to one of these Korukkais and, therefore, close to the Kāvēri, can we pretend to have succeeded in finding a site for the Mukari of our search.

Where was Mukari?

In a Tamil inscription found in Ceylon we have a reference, to a certain Mukari-Nāḍāḷvan, but we know very little more of him;[2] the name he bore indicates the existence in his days of a *nāḍu* going by the name of Mukari, but we are not able to locate it; quite conceivably it was in Ceylon itself. The only two places within the Madras Presidency to bear that name are both in the Agency tracts, and one other place is in the Shimoga district of the Mysore State. There are also a few place-names beginning with 'Mogali' and other likely,—or unlikely, —equivalents of Mukari, in some of the Telugu and Kanarese districts. Obviou sly none of these could be the Mukari we are looking for.

Was it destroyed by changes in the Kāvēri?

The absence at the present day of a place named Mukari along the Kāvēri cannot, however, be conclusive unless we can be

[1] Nos. R. 199 (c) and R. 238 (I) of the Madras Government Oriental Manuscripts Library. I am sub-joining the two versions for purposes of comparison. I have of course refrained from doctoring them.

(a) பொன்னிநாட்டுப்பொருந்தியபுக(ள்)ழ்பெறும்
மன்னவர்சேலைவழிமுதலுடையோன்
முத்தமிழ்தெரிவோன்முகரியம்பெரும்பதி
மத்தியிற்றனயமறைப'பவர்வா(ரு)மூன்
கு(ந்த)ற்றமில்காட்சிக்கொறுக்கையர்கோமான்
புத்தனருளியபுதல்வன்மேன்மைக்
கணைக்கர்சிரோமணிகாரியென்பவனே R. No. 199 (*c*).

(b) முதவில்பொன்னிநாட்டுப்பொருந்தியபுகழோன்
மன்னர்கோமான்வழிமுதலுடையோன்
முத்தமிழ்தெரிவோன்முகரியன்பெரும்பதி
மத்தியத்தன்மைமறையவர்வாழுங்
குற்றமில்காட்சிக்கொற்கையர்கோமான்
புத்தன்புதல்வன்புராரியென்பவனே. R. No. 238 (*I*).

[2] *MER.* 1913, No. 597 of 1912.

quite sure that the Kāvēri itself has not shifted its course within historical times. There are reasons to suppose that the river may not have always been flowing in its present channel. Just a little above Māyavaram, at the village of Mūvalūr, a channel breaks off from the Kāvēri and under the name *Paḷaṅ-kāvēri*, (the 'Old Kāvēri'), runs through the town [1] at a distance of about half a mile from the present Kāvēri and splits again and again into thin irrigation channels till some miles further down it finally gets lost among the fields. Does this channel represent any portion of an old course of the Kāvēri?

The Old Kāvēri.

Even in the days of Jñānasambandha there might have been an 'Old Kāvēri' distinct from the Kāvēri, for we find references to it in some of his hymns.[2] In the hymn on the deity of Tiruviḷanagar, a village some four miles to the east of Māyavaram, we find the Paḷaṅkāvēri mentioned,[3] — but along with the Kāvēri also.[4] The Paḷaṅkāvēri does not at the present day run in the vicinity of this village, though the Kāvēri does. Probably Jñānasambandha intended merely to associate the old and the new Kāvēris with this village so as to invest it with more than ordinary sanctity. Again, in his hymn on the deity of Kumbhakonam he mentions the two Kāvēris.[5] Singing of the Lord of Śivapuram, a place two or three miles to the south-east of Kumbhakonam, he says that it is adjacent to the southern bank of the Paḷaṅkāvēri [6] and that it is close to the Ariśilāṟu, a branch of the Kāvēri.[7] At the present day, Śivapuram is certainly on the banks of the Ariśilāṟu and is at a distance of about a mile and three-fourths from the southern bank of the Kāvēri,—a distance not too great to justify us in supposing that Jñānasambandha could not have meant the Kāvēri itself. We have two hymns of his on Tirunāgēśvaram, a place a few miles to the east of Kumbhakonam and about two miles to the south of the Kāvēri. In one of them he says that Tirunāgēśvaram stands on the southern bank of a river which he thrice calls the Paḷaṅkāvēri [8] and

[1] Beside the Municipal High School.

[2] It is curious that geographical details are much fewer in the hymns of Jñānasambandha's great contemporary and fellow hymnalist, Tiru-Nāvukku-Araśu.

[3] St. 5.

[4] St. 1, p. 498; st. 7, p. 499.

[5] The Old in st. 3, p. 430, and the New in stt. 1 and 2 on p. 430 and st. 6 on p. 431.

[6] Hymn இன்குரலிசை: st. 1, p. 616. In st. 10, p. 617, the Paḷaṅkāvēri is mentioned again.

[7] *Ib.*, st. 3, p. 616, and hymn கலைமலி, st. 3, p. 618.

[8] Hymn தழைகொள், stt. 1, 3, 5 and 7, pp. 438–9.

once the Kāvēri.' In the same hymn, we find him saying that it stands on 'the banks lashed by the waters of the Kāvēri,'[2] and in the other hymn he calls it 'the Nāgēśvaram of the fields (receiving) the excellent water of the Kāvēri.'[3] A distance of two miles from the river is not too great to deter the hymnalists from associating it with the place they praise; even a much greater distance—judging, of course, by the geographical facts of to-day,—does not seem to have formed an impediment to Kulaśēkhara-Āḷvār speaking of Tirukkaṇṇapuram as being beside the Kāvēri.[4] A convention does indeed obtain in Indian poetry to disregard distance and associate a place with a river or the sea out of which it derives any benefit.[5] Further, strictly speaking, 'the waters of the Kāvēri' do not cease to be such for passing through the Paḷaṅkāvēri, and we may argue that the use of that phrase does not exclude the possibility of the Paḷaṅkāvēri being meant in preference to the Kāvēri. It must, however, be unsafe to rely merely on these slight circumstances in ascertaining distances. The Paḷaṅkāvēri may mean the river Old Kāvēri, as well as the old or the ancient river Kāvēri; this ambiguity serves to perplex the interpretation further. These are the only instances, however of the use of this name in the *Tēvāram*, and it would be found that for every instance of its use a hundred instances of the use of the name Kāvēri may be cited; indeed, it does not look as if Jñānasambandha intended 'Paḷaṅkāvēri' to be a mere synonym for 'Kāvēri.' Taken with the circumstance that we have to-day a distinct Paḷaṅkāvēri, it does not seem quite improbable that there was in his days a river which enjoyed the reputation of being the Old Kāvēri. If this probability is admitted, we may suppose that it ran between the present Kāvēri and the Ariśilāṟu and to the north of Śivapuram and Tirunāgēśvaram. But we are not able to connect it with the present Paḷaṅkāvēri at Māyavaram or with the Paḷaṅkāvēri mentioned as flowing beside Tiruviḷanagar. Might it, therefore, have happened that the place of the name Mukari,—if one did ever stand on the Kāvēri,— was washed away when the river effected changes in its course?

[1] Hymn தழைகொள், st. 11, p. 439.

[2] *Ib.*, st. 9, p. 439.

[3] Hymn பொன்னேர், st. 1, p. 437.

[4] காவிரி நன்னதி பாயுங் கணபுரத்தென் கருமணியே.

Perumāḷ-Tirumoḷi, ix. 8. 10-3.

[5] For excellent examples,—Madura being called Madura-on-the-sea and Tiruchchuḷiyil being said to be on the sea-coast,—see Vidwān R. Raghava Aiyangar's *Vañji-mā-nagar*, 82.

In the result, it has to be candidly admitted that the early history of the Kāvēri has not become much clearer for this discussion. But the history of the river and its enbankments deserves to be rescued from oblivion. The raising of the embankments of the Kāvēri by Karikālaṉ cannot be compared with the raising of embankments for the Euphrates by the famous Semiramis,[1] for incidents such as those which invest the former with a romantic interest are not associated with the latter. Nicotris, a successor of Semiramis,— and a woman like her,— built embankments 'along each side of the Euphrates, wonderful both for breadth and height,' but her purpose was to gain a strategical advantage;[2] while the Lion and the Lizard keep the courts of Babylon which she planned to protect and the Wild Ass stamps o'er her head and she lies fast asleep, and the surrounding country is a weary wilderness, Karikālaṉ's embankments have stood at least in portions and for about fifteen centuries and have converted 'the lands of floods' into a land of great fertility supporting a teeming population. To compare the raising of the Kāvēri enbankments with the building of the Great Wall of China would be to exaggerate greatly the importance of Karikālaṉ's achievement, while, perhaps the one to which it approximates most closely is the building of Hadrian's Wall in the days of the Roman occupation of Britain. Karikālaṉ's embankments extended along either side of the river for about a hundred miles; Hadrian's Wall runs in two parallel lines,— the Murus and the Vallum,— for about eighty miles, the height and the thickness being by no means greater than in the case of the embankments of the Kāvēri.[3] While Tamil tradition attributes the raising of the embankments to Karikālaṉ alone, there is no doubt that Hadrian's Wall was not built by Hadrian alone or at one time. But neither the Great Wall of China nor Hadrian's Wall has the romantic history or interest which Karikālaṉ's embankments have. Comparisons.

Not many are the rivers of the world which in their history have presented spectacles such as the swarming of the ships of foreign lands at their mouth, emptying the freight into the capacious warehouses of highly prosperous ports, or the throng of a huge army of labourers brought captive from an island a hundred miles off and set to work on the raising of embankments along its History of the river is romantic but not clear.

[1] Herodotus, *History*, tr. by G. Rawlinson, i. 184.
[2] *Ib.* i. 186.
[3] For a description of Hadrian's Wall, see J. C. Bruce, *The Roman Wall*, 49-59.

course. A parallel might be sought in the building of the Pyramids by Egypt's kings were it not that we would be comparing little things with great, but this is the only parallel we can offer. But even this parallel fails except perhaps in respect of the magnitude of the task and the number of labourers employed. 'A hundred thousand men laboured constantly, and they were relieved every three months by a fresh lot', when Cheops built his pyramid,—so says Herodotus, who adds that 'it took ten years' oppression of the people to make the cause-way for the conveyance of the stones, a work not much inferior to the pyramid itself, which 'was twenty years in building."[1] Cheops and his pyramid-mad successors were an affliction to their subjects; Cheops especially, 'closed the temples, and forbade the Egyptians to offer sacrifice, compelling them instead to labour, one and all, in his service.'[2] The sequel is not surprising, for Herodotus says: 'The Egyptians so detest the memory of these kings that they do not much like even to mention their names. Hence they commonly call the pyramids after Philition, a shepherd who at that time fed his flocks about the place.'[3] Probably Karikālaṉ set the captives from Ceylon to the work of raising the embankments of the Kāvēri and had no need to compel his own subjects to labour at it. Naturally his Chola subjects were thankful to him for not having 'made their lives bitter with hard bondage, in mortar and in brick and in all manner of service in the field,'—a bitterness which was appropriately reserved for those brought from Ceylon as captives,—and it is not surprising that they applauded him and zealously kept him and his achievements green in their memory.

[1] *History*, ii, 124, tr. by G. Rawlinson. To the curious reader we may commend the following tit-bit from Herodotus : 'There is an inscription in Egyptian characters on the pyramids which records the quantity of radishes, onions, and garlick consumed by the labourers who constructed it ; and I perfectly well remember that the interpreter who read the writing to me said that the money expended in this way was 1,600 talents of silver' (*Ib.* ii, 125). These inscriptions are now gone, though incised on the imperishable pyramids. No wonder if the records,—had Karikālan left any,—of his very much smaller achievements have not survived.

Herodotus proceeds to say that 'the wickedness of Cheops reached to such a pitch that, when he had spent all his treasures and wanted more, he sent his daughter to the stews, with orders to procure him a certain sum' (*Ib.* ii. 126). Karikāḷaṉ need not, after all, be commisserated with for having undertaken a task well within his means.

[2] *Ib.* ii, 128. [3] *Ib.* ii, 124.

THE MAUKHARIS

Ancient north Indian clans.

The history of the north of India in ancient times is in no small measure the history of the numerous clans which occupied the region then known as Āryavarta. Many of these clans are mentioned in the Vēdas and the Purāṇas and the memory of many more is preserved in Buddhist literature. The clans which have perished without leaving the least trace behind must be innumerable. We catch, however, glimpses of some of the clans in a fragmentary inscription or a stray coin or a casual literary reference: these clans belong generally to the centuries immediately before and after the beginning of the Christian era. One of these is the Maukhari clan, and its history, in the present state of our knowledge, is a compound of a few facts and many surmises.

The Maukharis: their status.

The Maukharis are now known to us mainly from some references to, and a few records of, certain kings who claim to belong to this clan. The status of the clan and the power of its kings, in the heyday of their prosperity, are evident from a reference to them in Bāṇa's *Harsha Charita*, a work in which the court-poet Bāṇa turns chronicler of the deeds of his patron Harsha (606–647), the great emperor of north India in the first half of the seventh century A.D. Having occasion to speak of the care which Harsha's father, King Prabhākaravardhana, bestowed on securing a suitable bridegroom for his daughter in the days when he, though only king of the petty state of Thanesar (Sthāṇvīśvara), was yet laying the foundations of a kingdom which in the hands of his gifted son became an empire famous in history, Bāṇa purports to report a conversation between Prabhākaravardhana and his queen in which the former pays an excellent tribute to the Maukharis: 'Now at the head of all royal houses stand the Mukharas, worshipped, like Śiva's footprint, by all the world. Of that race's pride, Avantivarman, the eldest son, Grahavarman, by name, . . . seeks our daughter. . . . .'[1] The highest praise that Bāṇa could pay to his *guru*, Bhatsu, was to say, in another work, that he was 'honoured by crowned Maukharis.'[2]

[1] Translation of Cowell and Thomas, 122–3. It is this translation that is quoted from in the following pages. The marriage took place about 602 A.D.; Ettinghausen, *Harsha Vardhana*, 9.

[2] *Kādambari*, tr. by Ridding, 1.

An ancient clan.

That the Maukharis were a comparatively ancient clan may be inferred from the occurrence of a legend 'Mōkhaliṇam' in the Asokan characters on a clay seal found at Gayā. This is a Prakrit word which when Sanskritized becomes 'Maukharīṇām' and it means, 'of the Maukharis.' The use of the Asokan characters has been rightly pointed out as proof of the great antiquity of this clan.[1] It has been argued that *Maukhari* would be 'only a variant form of *Maurya*' and that '*Maurya* would be a legitimate contraction of *Maukhariya*.' This conjecture cannot by itself form the basis of any theory in regard to the connexion of the Maukharis with the Mauryas.[2]

Two references to the Maukharis are to be found in the scholia of Vāmana and Kaiyaṭa, two expositors of the Pāṇinian system of grammar who seem to have lived in the seventh and the thirteenth centuries, A.D., respectively.[3] In explaining the aphorism relating to the formation of words having *shyaṅ* for suffix, three illustrations are offered of which the word *Maukharyā* is one ;[4] even supposing that Kaiyaṭa, the later scholiast, blindly repeated an example furnished by the earlier, the Maukharis must have been well known to Vāmana who belongs to the seventh century. If the surmise that the name was known not only to Patañjali (*c.* 150 B.C.) but also to Pāṇini (not later than the fourth century B.C.) is accepted the antiquity of the Maukharis would be unquestionable.

Relying on the scholia of Vāmana and Kaiyaṭa, the term *Maukharyā* has been taken to be 'a patronymic signifying the descendants of Mukhara, who must have been the *ādipurusha* or the first to bring his family into prominence and thereby caused it to be known after his name.'[5] Two of the meanings of the word *mukhara* being 'a leader' and 'a chief' it is not unlikely that the eponymous ancestor of the family was called Mukhara for having distinguished himself by being a leader of his hosts or by attaining the status of a ruling chief. That this Mukhara was almost an eponymous ancestor seems to be clear from a mention of him in the *Harsha Charita* in which 'Gambhīra, a wise Brahman attached to the king' tells Grahavarman, the Maukhari prince to whom Harsha's sister Rājya-Śrī was married: 'My son, by obtaining you Rājya-Śrī has at length united the two brilliant lines of Pushpabhūti and Mukhara.'[6] Pushpabhūti is often mentioned as an ancestor of Harsha but he has not emerged into the light of

1 Fleet, *GI.*, Intr. 14.
2 Cunningham, *ASI.R.* xv, 166 ; see also Smith in *JRAS.* 1908, p. 785.
3 Mr. Hiranand Sastri in *EI.* xiv, 111.
4 Cunningham *ASI.R.* xv, 112.
5 *Ib.* p. 111.
6 Bāṇa, *HC.CT.* 128.

history. The mention of a shadowy Mukhara along with an untraceable Pushpabhūti as the forebears of Grahavarman and Rājya-Śrī respectively, makes us suspect that both Mukhara and Pushpabhūti are pre-historic and eponymous figures at best.

The Maukharis a clan and not a family.

An inscription of one of the greatest of the Maukhari kings suggests, however, another line of enquiry.[1] In the *praśasti* we find a significant statement: 'The Mukhara princes, who have vanquished their foes and checked the course of evil, are the descendants of the hundred sons whom Aśvapati got from Vaivasvata (Yama)[2] and who were conspicuous on account of their excellences.'[3] That of the many Aśvapatis known to history the one who was 'king of Madra and father of Sāvitrī, the well-known heroine of an episode of the Mahābhārata,' might be the Aśvapati meant in this record and that, in that case, the Mukharas 'must have originally belonged to the north-western part of India, where Varāhamihira has located the Madras' in accordance with 'the tradition which was evidently current at the time when it (the *praśasti*) was written,'[4] are surmises which may well be correct. According to the author of this *praśasti* the great forebear of this family was Aśvapati and not Mukhara. When we note that the sons of Aśvapati are said to have been as many as a hundred and that their descendants must have been many times as many and that they all,—or at any rate, a good number of them,—are, none the less, called 'princes' (*kshitiśāh*), we are inclined to question whether the Maukharis were the members of a small family which held sway sometimes over small tracts as a local power and sometimes over large portions of north India,—perhaps assuming even the imperial dignity. The suspicion is emphasised when in the next verse the author of the *praśasti* says that 'among them king Harivarman was first born for the welfare of the earth.' This Harivarman, as will be shown below, is mentioned in the same record and in others as the grandfather of a king whose historicity is indisputable and he may, therefore, be taken to be himself undoubtedly historic. In every inscription of this line of kings we find that the first name mentioned as that of a king is the name of Harivarman. If we take it, then, that this Harivarman was the first

1 The Haṛāhā inscription of Īśānavarman, *EI*. xiv, 110–120.
2 Not Manu; *Mahābhārata*, iii, 296, 39-41; Dr. H. C. Raychaudhury in *JASB*., N.S., xvii, 319.
3 *Ib*. 119, verse 3.
4 *Ib*. 111. For a discussion of the history of the Madras see H. C. Kay's paper in *JASB*., N.S. xviii, 257–268.

of his line to achieve that distinction we will find ample corroboration of the assumption in this *praśasti* which says that Harivarman was the first of the family to be born to ensure the welfare of the earth by becoming king. Whatever might be the date of the rise of some of the Maukharis to kingly power, there can be little doubt that Aśvapati was given a hundred sons by tradition so that an easy explanation might be found for the existence of a large number of Maukhari 'princes' and a very much larger body of commoners who, in all probability, bore the Maukhari name in the days when the inscription was recorded. If this conjecture is correct, we might go a step further and make the additional guess that the Maukharis were a clan, and not a family, and that the clan contained many members whose aristocratic leanings are evidenced by their assuming the title of 'princes.' Were further proof required, it would be found in the existence at the present day, almost solely in the district of Gayā, in which indeed one of the Maukhari lines held sway, of a caste known to this day as the Mauharī.[1] These Mauharīs are Baniyas or Vaiśyas now, but this circumstance does not militate against the hypothesis of their being descended from a Kshatriya clan of ancient times. The facts that many members of that clan called themselves princes and some rose even to be kings and that they called themselves Kshatriyas is no proof that the rest of the clan did not follow peaceful pursuits and could not have come to class themselves as Vaiśyas.

The earliest known Maukhari king.

The first Maukhari whom we find mentioned in a literary work as a king is Kshatrarvarman. In the *Harsha Charita*, Skanda-Gupta 'the commandant of the whole elephant troop' of Harsha advises his master to 'dismiss this universal confidingness, so agreeable to the habits of your own land and springing from innate frankness of spirit' and he proceeds to cite numerous examples of 'disasters due to mistaken carelessness.'[2] One of such instances is the story

[1] I am indebted to that erudite scholar of Patna, Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, for this piece of information. His views about the Maukharis would be clear from the following extracts from a letter of his to me: 'The Maukhari seal probably denotes that they were a political (republican) community in origin; they must have been bereft of power in B.C. (3rd century) as there is no room for a secondary, real political power near Gayā and R jagriha in those days when the Mauryas were ruling. The seal may refer to a social (जातिसङ्घ) organisation only at the time. I feel that their seat has always been the district of Gayā. I think that the modern Mauharī (मौहरी) caste, almost solely located in the Gayā district, are their representatives. They are Baniyas=Vaiśyas now.'

[2] Bāṇa, *HC.CT*. 192.

of how 'carried away by fondness for troubadours, the Maukhari fool Kshatravarman was cut down by bards, his enemy's emissaries, with the cry of "Victory" echoing on their lips.'[1] Since the list of kings who came by their end through 'mistaken carelessness' or 'universal confidingness' includes the Maurya Brihadratha and the Śunga Sumitra, attributed to the second century B.C., it is not unlikely that Kshatravarman belongs to an age much earlier than that of the other Maukharis for whom we have epigraphic records or literary evidences.[2]

A line of three Maukhari chiefs.

Three inscriptions give us the names of three chiefs or kings of the Maukhari lineage. Some fifteen miles to the north-east of Gayā, in Bihar, are to be found the Barābar Hill[3] and the Nāgārjunī Hill, two of the easternmost spurs of the Vindhya Mountains, and in the former there is one cave-temple and in the latter there are two. A certain Anantavarman has recorded on the temple-walls his setting up an image of Krishna in the first temple, one of Ardhanārīśvara in the second and one of Kātyāyanī in the third.[4] The father of this Anantavarman was king Śārdūla or Śārdūlavarman[5] whose father was king Yajñavarman.[6] That these were Maukharis is established by the first of these inscriptions which declares that Anantavarman 'adorned by his own (high) birth the family of the Maukhari kings.'[7] These three inscriptions are written in characters of the same type and they have been assigned by two excellent authorities to the fifth century A.D.,[8] and another competent scholar has declared that 'for palaeographic reasons' they 'cannot be placed later than the first half of the sixth century.'[9] One other writer is of opinion that the script is more primitive than that used in an inscription the date of which seems to be 554 A.D.[10] The titles *nripa*, 'king,' and *sāmanta-chūḍāmaṇi* meaning 'a feudatory prince' or 'the chief of a tributary district' are applied to Śārdūla in one of these records[11] and his family is

[1] *Ib.* 194.
[2] *IA.* xiii. 428 *n.*
[3] Probably known in ancient days as Pravaragiri; Fleet, *GI.* 221.
[4] Fleet, *GI.* Nos. 48–50, pp. 221–8.
[5] *Ib.* No. 49, pp. 222–3.
[6] *Ib.* No. 50, pp. 227–8.
[7] *Ib.* No. 48, p. 223.
[8] Indraji and Bühler, *IA.* xi. 428 *n.*
[9] In the words of Kielhorn, who uses them with reference to one of the Nāgārjunī Hill inscriptions; *EI.* vi. 3. Mr. C. V. Vaidya holds that they 'probably belong to a date later than that of Harsha,' *HMHI.* i. 34, but he assigns no reasons for this opinion.
[10] Mr. Nanigopal Majumdar in *IA.* xlvi. 127, on the Harāhā inscription.
[11] Fleet, *GI.* No. 48, line 4.

said to be *bhūpānām Maukhariṇām kulam*, 'of the family of the kingly Maukharis',[1] but in the two others the term *nripa* is used for both Śārdūla and his father Yajñavarman. No title is given to Anantavarman in any of these records. The word *sāmanta* is more specific than *nripa* and therefore we may permit ourselves the inference that Yajñavarman and Śārdūla were only *sāmantas*, and in the absence of any epithet attached to the name of Ananta varman we may be justified in concluding that in the days when these records were engraved he had not yet mounted the throne of his fathers but was only the heir-apparent.

Their territories.

The territory subject to the rule of these Maukharis must have been that in which the Barābar and Nāgārjunī Hills lie. This region, it has been contended, was 'in the neighbourhood of, and . . . identical with, that of the Aṅgas' whose capital was at Champā, 'situated in the immediate neighbourhood of Bhagalpur on the right bank of the lower Ganges, where the present villages of Champanagar and Champapur still preserve the ancient name and in all probability indicate the exact site.'[2] In Daṇḍin's *Daśakumāracharita*, written in the first half of the sixth century A.D., one of the characters reminds the Aṅga king of a Maurya-given boon,— the exemption of the merchants of Aṅga from capital punishment,— in language[3] which seems to indicate that 'he is referring to a ruling of the king's ancestors than to a regulation introduced by a preceding dynasty' and that the 'Mauryas were actually ruling in Champā at the time of the story, and therefore presumably in the time of Daṇḍin.' Further, 'it is conceivable that there was a later (Maurya) dynasty' (than that of Asoka), 'that when Pushyamitra slew the last direct representative of this line and seized the Government of Pāṭaliputra, the Mauryas still maintained their hold on Champā and continued to exercise their power within the narrower limits of the Aṅga territory.' While the *Daśakumāracharita* mentions the Aṅgas and the Mauryas it does not speak of the Maukharis. But in the *Harsha Charita* and in the Gupta inscriptions we find no mention of the Aṅgas. The name Kusumapura being the name of both the royal precinct at Pāṭaliputra and the old capital of the Kanouj territories, it may be that

[1] Fleet, *GI*. No. 48, line 1.

[2] In this and the following few sentences I am using much of Dr. Mark Collins's language, and summarising his arguments, in his *GDRD*. 23-7.

[3] *Mauryadatta iska vari vanijām*.

both Pāṭaliputra and Kanouj were at some time under one government,— and we know that this was the case in the days of Grahavarman at least. Kālidāsa's admiration of the well-trained elephants of the Aṅga kings[1] has its counterpart in the allusions to the 'ponderous and mighty rutting elephants' and 'the proudly stepping array of mighty elephants' of the Maukharis which are contained in an inscription of Ādityasēna of the rival dynasty of the Later Guptas. On these circumstances has been based a theory that the Mauryas of Champā, the kings of Aṅga and the Maukhari chiefs of the inscriptions of the Barābar and Nāgārjunī were in all probability identical. While the conjectures and the linking them together are all ingenious, each of the conjectures individually is so frail a link that the chain formed of a number of them cannot claim to be in anywise strong. The probability of the identity of the Maukharis with the Mauryas has already been suggested on philological grounds, but until further evidence is forthcoming we may ignore the suggestions that these three Maukhari chiefs ruled over Aṅga with Champā for their capital. When we remember that the provenance of their inscriptions is nearer Rājagriha than Champā and that Rājagriha, off and on, through many centuries, shared with Pāṭaliputra the dignity of being the capital of Magadha, we may be safe in surmising that these Maukhari chiefs had Rājagriha for their capital. Had the excavations at Pāṭaliputra and at Rājagriha been more extensive we might perhaps have known when the former city could not, and the latter could, have been the capital and we might have thus fixed, almost definitely, the period in which this line of the Maukharis flourished.

Did the Maukharis rule over Aṅga?

Some other inscriptions, coins and plaques, of a later age give us the name of a number of kings of the Maukhari lineage, of whom the earliest was the Harivarman already mentioned.

The line of Harivarman.

The first of these inscriptions requires careful consideration being unfortunately a fragment, and only one of at least four stones on which the complete record must have been engraved being now available.[2] It was discovered at Jaunpur, the capital of the district

Jaunpur inscription.

[1] विनीतनागः किल सूत्रकारैर्
ऐन्द्रं पदं भूमिगतोऽपि भुङ्क्ते ॥ *Raghuvamśa*, vi. 27.

[2] *Ib.* No. 51, pp. 228–230. This is the only possible inference ...cription of the record: 'Nothing has been lost at the top, and at ... But from thirty-eight to eighty-two *aksharas*, probably the larg... the beginning of each line; and also an indefinite number of lines below the ... that is now extant,' p. 228.

of the same name in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. The gaps in the inscription are too wide to permit of any but bold conjectures. A certain king (*nripati*) Īśvaravarman is mentioned in it as the son, or possibly the grandson, of one who must himself have been a king and must have come 'in the flourishing lineage of the Mukhara kings.' A very near ancestor of Īśvaravarman,— again, it may be the father himself or the grandfather,— is spoken of as a great warrior and as one avid for 'religious merit, arising from sacrifices, spread out over the sky (in the form of) the mass of the clouds of the canopy of the smoke (of his oblations).' The fame of his father is said, incidentally, to have 'spread far and wide over the regions,' but the names of the earlier ancestors are not to be found in the present fragment, having evidently been engraved on one of the missing stones. Then comes Īśvaravarman's name and that is followed again by a gap.[1] We are therefore compelled to rely once more on our discretion in filling in the lacunæ that follow, but we may not be wrong in interpreting the inscription to say that 'a spark of fire that had come by the road from (the city of) Dhārā' was quickly extinguished by one who was 'a very lion to (hostile) kings'; that 'the Lord of the Āndhras, wholly given over to fear, took up (his) abode in the crevices of the Vindhya mountains' and that another king fleeing from an enemy's victorious arms 'went to the Raivataka mountain' in the Saurāshṭrā country or Kāṭhiāwād, and that the Āndhra army was routed in battle. Whether these achievements are to be attributed to Īśvaravarman himself or to one or more of his successors is now a moot point. No further information about the other exploits of Īśvaravarman and his successors can be elicited from this inscription, the stones bearing the continuation of the inscription being lost.

The next record of this family is an inscription on a stone slab found at a village near Haṛāhā in the Bārā-Bāṅki district of the United Provinces.[2] It says that 'the Mukhara princes, who have vanquished their forces and checked the course of evil, are the descendants of the hundred sons whom king Aśvapati got from Vaivasvata (Yama),' that 'among them king Harivarman was first

[1] There is thus little warrant for following Fleet in attributing this record to Īśvaravarman or even Mr. Hirananda Sastri (*EI*. xiv. 112, n. 6), in transferring it to Īśvaravarman's successor, Īśānavarman. The record might have been longer than either of them imagines.

[2] This has been edited excellently by Mr. Hirananda Sastri, *EI*. xiv. 110–120, and discussed by Mr. Nanigopal Majumdar in *IA*. xlvi, 125–7.

born for the welfare of the earth, who became known by the name of Jvālāmukha (or, flame-faced)' and earned fame 'for the perpetuation of the moral laws in the world,' that his son was 'King Ādityavarman' whose sacrificial performances raised a 'volume of smoke, black like pitch darkness, rising on all sides and increased through the tossing and whirling produced by the wind in the sky, made the crowds of peacocks noisy as they mistook it for a large cloud' and through whom the Creator obtained, as it were, the full result of his laying down the 'regulations of right conduct for the four castes and stages of life.' His son was king (*kshitipati*) Īśvaravarman who displayed every desirable quality and 'invoked Indra in many a sacrifice'; — the poet bestowing on the description of his sacrifices the same imagery as that employed about those of Ādityavarman. His successor was his son, king (*nripa*) Īśānavarman, 'the most firm abode of greatness,' in whose reign 'the three Vedas were, so to speak, born afresh.' Further, 'being victorious and having princes bending at his feet,' he 'occupied the throne after conquering the Lord of the Āndhras, who had thousands of three-fold rutting elephants, after vanquishing in battle the Śūlikas, who had an army of countless galloping horses, and after causing the Gauḍas, living on the seashore, in future to remain within their proper realm.' This Īśānavarman had a son Sūryavarman. This record differs from the others in that it contains a date, a discussion of which we shall undertake later on.

The next record of value to claim our attention is a seal found at Asirgadh, some eleven miles to the north-east of Burhānpur, the chief town of the Tahsil of the same name in the Nimāḍ district of the Central Provinces.[1] The words engraved on it contain a genealogy of this family beginning with Mahārājā Harivarman 'who had other kings brought into subjection by (his) prowess and by affection for him' and employed '(his) sovereignty for regulating the different castes and stages of religious life).' What follows may be set down in full as it is quite brief and sufficiently compressed. 'His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the illustrious Mahārājā Ādityavarman, begotten on the Bhaṭṭārikā and Dēvī Jayasvāminī.[2] His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the

Asirgadh seal.

[1] Fleet, *GI.* No. 47, pp. 219–221.

[2] According to Fleet, *GI.* 221, notes 2 and 3, *Bhaṭṭārikā* which literally means 'she who is entitled to reverence or homage' is used here as a technical title of a wife of a Mahārājā and of a Mahārājādhirājā, and *Dēvi*, literally, 'goddess,' is another technical title of a wife of a Mahārājā. It may be noted that while there are two grades, Dēvī and Mahādēvī we have only Bhaṭṭārikā and not Mahābhaṭṭārikā. But the same person bears the titles Mahādēvī and Bhaṭṭārikā.

illustrious Mahārāja Īśvaravarman, begotten on the Bhaṭṭārikā and Dēvī Harshaguptā. His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the Mahārājādhirāja, the glorious Īśānavarman, begotten on the Bhaṭṭārikā and Dēvī Upaguptā. His son, who meditated on his feet, (is) the most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahēśvara, the Mahārājādhirāja Śarvavarman, the Maukhari, begotten on the Bhaṭṭārikā and Mahādēvī Lakshmīvatī.' This seal is valuable for three reasons. It gives the names of the queens of these Maukhari kings, except the name of the queen of the last of them, Śarvavarman. Evidently this seal was one used in the days of Śarvavarman himself. The second point of value is that Harivarman, his son Ādityavarman and his grandson Īśvaravarman are called Mahārājās, and Īśānavarman and Śarvavarman are both called Mahārājādhirājās. Evidently, the family attained to great power in the days of Īśānavarman and retained it under Śarvavarman. It is likely also that Śarvavarman, the Mahārājādhirāja that he was, thought it beneath his dignity to claim descent from a mere *sāmanta* or even a *nripa*,—the titles given to his predecessors in the other records,—and chose to dub each of them with a more decent title *Mahārāja*. The discovery of this seal at Asirgadh, a place far away from what seems to have been the home of the Maukharis, has raised doubts as to whether it had not drifted as *flotsam* to that distant fortress, which we have no *prima facie* grounds, so far, to believe to have been a possession of the Maukharis. But, of this more anon.

Excavations at the ruins of Nālanda (in the Patna district of the province of Bihar and Orissa) have led to the discovery of three seals belonging indubitably to this family.[1] One of them is a fragment,— for it now wants the upper half containing the device and the lower right quadrant in which must have fallen about half the writing originally engraved on the seal.[2] One verse is all that can now be read and it runs thus: 'Victorious is the splendour of the (king)[3] Īśāna(varman), conducive, (as it is) to

[1] Mr. K. N. Dikshit in *ASI.E.AR.*, 1917–8, pp. 44–5. I am obliged to Mr. Dikshit for kindly drawing my attention to this discovery and to his interesting remarks thereon in *JBORS*.

[2] No reproduction of these seals having been included in the reports, some reliance has had to be placed on the faculty of 'constructive imagination.'

[3] This word stands for *nripa* which has been put into the text by way of filling in a lacuna. The term Mahārājādhirāja applied to Īśānavarman in the Asirgadh seal offends against prosody in this short inscription and cannot therefore be substituted for *nripa*. It is clear that any theory regarding the respective grades of importance to which the various sovereigns of this family had attained which bases itself wholly on the te used as designations is bound to be extremely unsatisfactory.

the pleasure of the world, by reason of his knowing the duties attached to the (different) castes and stages (of life), and by reason of his pleasing the subjects.' As the device on the seal is wanting and as it is also uncertain whether the writing was continued further we cannot be sure if this seal does not belong to a king later than Īśānavarman. The other two are also fragmentary, only two lines of the writing being preserved in each, but they contain the same words making mention of Harivarman and his queen Jayasvāminī. It would be hard to say to whose reign these two seals belong if they did not bear a device which tallies in every particular[1] with that on the previously mentioned Asirgadh seal of Śarvavarman; possibly, therefore, these two also are seals of that king.

Results.

These records may therefore be taken to yield these results: These kings were staunch supporters of Brahmanism and upholders of its tenets and practices. This line started with Harivarman who was perhaps a minor potentate, but in the fourth generation it attained great power under Īśānavarman to whom is applied the title Mahārājādhirāja. A record of his days, the Haṛāhā inscription, declares that he won battles against the Āndhras, the Śūlikas and the Gauḍas. But another record,— the Jaunpur inscription,— attributes victories over the Āndhras and 'a spark of fire from Dhārā' and over a king who fled for refuge to Saurāshṭra, to a Maukhari king or kings whose names are unknown. If we could read the latter inscription in the light of the former,— which leaves no room for doubt,— we may conclude that the victories mentioned in both the records are to be attributed to the same king, Īśānavarman. If this be so, we find good reason for his being styled a Mahārājādhirāja. He had two sons, Sūryavarman and Śarvavarman, and the latter ruled over the Maukharis adopting the same title, Mahārājādhirāja.

Some later Gupta records.

For further information about these Maukharis we have to turn to two inscriptions of the family known as the Later Guptas.

Aphsad inscription.

The first, an undated inscription, found at Aphsaḍ, a village 'about 15 miles towards the north-east of Nawādā, the chief town of the Nawādā subdivision of the Gayā district,'[2] records that Ādityasēna, a later Gupta king, built a temple to Vishṇu, that his mother 'built a religious college' or monastery and that his wife, Kōṇadēvī, had a tank excavated. In tracing the genealogy of this Ādityasēna, the record starts with Krishṇagupta, whose son was Harshagupta and grandson Jīvitagupta, and attributes to these

[1] K. N. Dikshit, *ASI. E.AR.*, 1917-8, pp. 44-5. [2] Fleet, *GI.*, No. 42, p. 200-8.

latter three kings many unspecified victories over their enemies. The inscription then passes on to say that Jīvitagupta's son was Kumāragupta, 'by whom, playing the part of (the mountain) Mandara, there was quickly churned that formidable milk-ocean, the cause of the attainment of fortune, which was the army of the glorious Īśānavarman, a very moon among kings.' Kumāragupta was followed, it says, by his son Dāmōdaragupta who, though he broke up 'the proudly stepping array of mighty elephants, belonging to the Maukhari, which had thrown aloft in battle the troops of the Hūṇas (in order to trample them to death),' yet was himself killed in the battle. It continues that his son Mahāsēnagupta had his 'mighty fame marked with the honour of victory in war over the illustrious Susthitavarman' and credits Mahāsēnagupta's son, Mādhavagupta, with 'the desire to associate himself with the glorious Harshadeva.' This Mādhavagupta's son was Ādityasēna.

Dēō-Baraṇārk inscription.

The second inscription is that of Jīvitagupta II recording the continuance of the grant of a village to the Sun under the title of Varuṇasvāsin.[1] It was evidently from this time and from the name of the deity, Varuṇasvāsin, that this village took the name of Vāruṇikā, corrupted into Dēva-Baranārk, and thence into the present form Dēō-Baraṇārk. This inscription, found in that village, which is about 25 miles south-west of Arrah, the chief town of the Shahabad district in Bihar, has to be carefully interpreted, being in a very much damaged condition. Mādhavagupta's son by Srīmatidēvī was Ādityasēna whose son by Kōṇadēvī was Dēvagupta. His son by Kamaladēvī was Vishṇuguptadeva. By Ijjādēvī he had a son, Jīvitaguptadēva II 'who meditates on his (Vishṇugupta's) feet.' The last three sovereigns bear the titles 'Paramabhaṭṭārika, Mahārājādhirāja and Paramēsvara,' and every one of the queens mentioned above is styled 'Paramabhaṭṭārikā, the queen (*rājñi*), the Mahādēvī.' The record recites that Jīvitagupta II confirmed a grant which had been confirmed before, from time to time, by certain earlier kings. Of the names of such kings, two that are now legible are those of 'the Paramēśvara, the glorious Śarvavarman' and the 'Paramēśvara Avantivarman.'

Summary of genealogies.

A short summary of the essential genealogical facts in respect of the Maukharis and the Later Guptas and also of their titles may be attempted in the accompanying table, in which, by anticipation, have been included lists of two other lines whose history too has to be incidentally considered :

[1] Fleet, *GI.* No. 46, p. 213-8.

SYNCHRONISTIC TABLE.

Generation.	Maukharis: Kings.	Maukharis: Queens.	Later Guptas: Kings.	Later Guptas: Queens.	Vardhanas.	Varmans of Kamarupa.
1	HARIVARMAN. Maharaja. Avanibhuja.	JAYASVAMINI. Bhattarika. Devi.	KRISHNAGUPTA. Nripa.	.....	......	MAHENDRAVARMAN.
2	ADITYAVARMAN. Nripati. Maharaja.	HARSHAGUPTA. Bhattarika. Devi.	HARSHAGUPTA.	... ..	......	NARAYANAVARMAN.
3	ISVARAVARMAN. Nripati. Kshitipati. Maharaja.	UPAGUPTÂ. Bhattarika. Devi.	JIVITAGUPTA I. Kshitisa-Chudamani.	......	NARAVARDHANA. Maharaja.	MAHATHUPAVARMAN.
4	ISANAVARMAN. Nripa. Maharajadhiraja. Kshitipatiśaśina.	LAKSHMIVATI. Bhattarika. Mahadevi.	KUMARAGUPTA.	......	RAJYAVARDHANA. Maharaja.	ÇHANDRAMUKHA-VARMAN.
5	SARVAVARMAN. Maharajadhiraja. Maukhari. Paramesvara.	......	DAMODARAGUPTA.	.. ...	ADITYAVARDHANA. Maharaja.	STHITAVARMAN.
6	AVANTIVARMAN. Paramesvara.	......	MAHASENAGUPTA.	... ..	PRABHAKARAVARDHANA. Paramabhattaraka. Maharajadhiraja.	SUSTHITAVARMAN,
7	GRAHAVARMAN.	RAJYA-SRI	MADHAVAGUPTA.	SRIMATI. Mahadevi. Paramabhattarika. Rajni.	HARSHAVARDHANA. Paramabhattaraka. Maharajadhiraja.	BHASKARAVARMAN.
8	......	. ....	ADITYASENA. Paramabhattaraka. Maharajadhiraja. Kshitisa-Chudamani.	KONADEVI. Paramabhattarika. Mahadevi. Rajni.	......	... ..
9	.. ...	......	DEVAGUPTA. Parambhattaraka. Maharajadhiraja. Paramesvara.	KAMALADEVI. Paramabhattarika. Mahadevi. Rajni.	......	......

NOTE.—The only king in this table who is not definitely known to be his predecessor's son is Avantivarman the Maukhari.

Harivarman. Ādityavarman.

Harivarman, or Jvālāmukha as he is proudly styled, was evidently the first of this line to attain distinction. Ādityavarman, the second king of this line, is mentioned in the Haṛāhā inscription as a lover of sacrificial performances and he may therefore be identified with that immediate ancestor of Īśvaravarman who, in the Jaunpur inscription, is said to have set much store on the acquiring of 'religious merit arising from sacrifices.' Īśānavarman, too, like his predecessors was a supporter of Brahmanism; the Haṛāha inscription says of him that in his reign the Vedas seemed to have had a renaissance, and one of the Nālanda seals declares that he knew the various duties attached to the various castes and stages of life. While the Jaunpur inscription, being fragmentary, does not make it clear to whom credit should be given for the victories over the 'spark of fire from Dhārā', the 'lord of the Āndhras' and the king who fled to the Raivataka mountain, the Haṛāhā inscription mentions that Īśānavarman conquered the Āndhras, the Śūlikas and the Gauḍas. The former says indeed that Īśānavarman 'occupied the throne after conquering' these enemies of his, but there is no necessity to lay stress on the word 'after,' and the inscription might have been intended to mean only that he defeated them and had thereafter a peaceful reign. We may not be wrong if we attribute to Īśānavarman himself the victories mentioned in the former inscription also,— especially because there is nothing in any of the other records to show that all or some of those victories were won by either his predecessor Īśvaravarman, or his successor Śarvavarman. This conclusion is in some measure supported by the circumstance that the first Maukhari to be called a Mahārājādhirājā is not Īśvaravarman but Īśānavarman himself. Had the former won the victories mentioned in the Jaunpur inscription it would have to be supposed that the latter had to fight the struggle over again.

Īśānav

Īśānavarman's achievements.

The Aphsaḍ inscription is valuable for adding two more facts to those we know already about Īśānavarman. It gives him credit for having defeated the Huns, but it records also his defeat at the hands of Kumāragupta, one of the Later Guptas. The army of Īśānavarman is said to have been 'quickly churned' by Kumāragupta. It is not unlikely that Īśānavarman did sustain this reverse, but in the absence of chronological details we may suppose that the defeat might have been inflicted on him when he was either too new to the throne or too weak, through old age, to resist the attacks of his enemies.

Relations between Maukharis and Later Guptas.

During this period, however, it seems that the relations between these two families were not wholly inimical. The paternal grandfather of Īśānavarman's opponent, Kumāragupta, is called Harshagupta in the Aphsaḍ inscription and the paternal grandmother of Īśānavarman himself,—that is the queen of Ādityavarman,— is called the Dēvī Harshaguptā. The surmise has naturally been made that the Later Gupta king Harshagupta and the Maukhari queen Harshaguptā, who must have been contemporaries, were related as brother and sister,— a not improbable surmise when we remember that a common practice of those days was for those so related to bear the identical name, making, of course, the necessary variations in the terminations of the names to indicate the difference in sex.[1] Further support for the suggestion that the two families were related to each other by marriage is furnished by the fact that Īśvaravarman's queen also bears a name ending in *guptā*,— Upaguptā. A further surmise, though perhaps not less fanciful than the preceding ones, may yet furnish an explanation for trouble with the Later Guptas having broken out, evidently for the first time, in the days of Īśānavarman. His grandfather and father had married Later Gupta princesses, and the contemporary Later Gupta princes were men of average capacity as is evident from the Apshaḍ inscription failing to specify with any particularity those who, according to it, were conquered by them. With Īśānavarman and Kumāragupta, however, the two families grew in importance, but, evidently, in this generation there was no princess of the one line to marry a prince of the other. That the two families had now no direct ties to keep them together at a time when each of them was represented obviously by a capable person may be a sufficient explanation of the cessation of peaceful relations between them and also of the enmity passing into the next generation.[2]

Sarvavarman.

Īśānavarman was succeeded by his son Śarvavarman.[3] That Īśānavarman, however, had a son named Sūryavarman is stated by the Haṛāhā inscription, but nothing is known of that son. No valid conclusion could be drawn from the fact that while Sūryavarman is mentioned in an inscription which clearly states that

[1] 'A connecting link between these Maukharis and the Guptas of Magadha seems to have been established in Ādityavarman's wife, Harshaguptā, who was probably the sister of Harshagupta of Magadha.' Fleet, *GI*. Intr. 14.

[2] Coins too seem to record this antagonism; see note (*a*) on p. 103.

his father was alive and ruling at the time, Śarvavarman claims to be meditating on the feet of his father,— which is only a hint that his father was then dead. Evidently Īśānavarman had two sons, Śarvavarman and Sūryavarman, the former of whom succeeded to the throne on the father's death. Sūryavarman might have been younger than Śarvavarman, or, if he had been the elder, might have predeceased his father or might have even been worsted by his brother in a contest for the throne.

His dominions.

A point of interest is that in the Asirgadh seal the epithet 'the Maukhari' is applied only to Śarvavarman and not to any of his ancestors, though four generations of them are enumerated. This circumstance, of little value by itself, acquires some importance from the fact that Dāmōdaragupta,— the son of the Kumāragupta who was the foe of Īśānavarman,— claims in the Aphsaḍ inscription to have broken up 'the array of mighty elephants belonging to the Maukhari.' This claim is put forward in the very record in which Kumāragupta is said to have won a victory over Īśānavarman. Perhaps the term 'the Maukhari' refers to the king of that dynasty mentioned immediately before,— Īśānavarman; yet it is not inconceivable that 'the Maukhari' of the Aphsaḍ inscription, though unnamed, is 'the Maukhari' called Śarvavarman in the Asirgadh seal; otherwise the force of the specific mention of 'the Maukhari' is lost. The antagonism between Maukhari and Gupta did not evidently end with Īśānavarman and Kumāragupta; it seems to have survived into the times of their sons, Śarvavarman and Dāmōdaragupta. Though Śarvavarman's elephant-array was probably broken up by the forces of the Gupta, the engagement ended fatally for Dāmōdaragupta, for he lay killed on the field. In effect, the victory was Śarvavarman's.

Śarvavarman was also able to render signal service to North India by keeping the Huns in check. This is admitted by the Guptas themselves in the very breath that proclaims that the Gupta forces scattered the forces of Śarvavarman, for the Maukhari's array of mighty elephants is said to have previously thrown aloft in battle the troops of the Hūṇas (in order to trample them to death).' That he was able to check both the Huns and the Guptas,— the only two political forces which were powerful in his days in those regions,— is in all probability the reason for his assuming the title of 'the Maukhari,' as is evident from his own Asirgadh seal, and for even his opponents, the Later Guptas, calling him by the same appellation in the third generation after him, in Ādityasēna's Aphsaḍ inscription.

At Nirmaṇḍ, a place almost on the banks of the Sutlej and close to Simla, a copperplate was found which, dated probably in 612–3 A.D.,[1] says that a certain Mahārājā Śarvavarman made a grant of land in that village to the village-temple.[2] As we know of no other Śarvavarman of about this period we may tentatively assume that the Maukhari Śarvavarman had been able to extend his dominions so far west in the course of his wars with the Huns. Unless Nirmaṇḍ lay within Śarvavarman's dominions he is not likely to have made a gift of it. This record is, in a sense, the most trustworthy witness we have, for it is no record of Śarvavarman himself, and therefore not a possibly baseless panegyric, but of a slightly later king of a different dynasty whose interest it could not have been to sing the praise of the alien and dead Śarvavarman.

Susthitavarman not a Maukhari.

After Śarvavarman comes a break. No epigraphs of his successors have been found. The Aphsaḍ inscription states that Dāmōdaragupta's son, Mahāsēnagupta, conquered 'the illustrious Susthitavarman.' Nothing more having been known about Susthitavarman it was facilely assumed that he was a Maukhari[3] and the inference was drawn that two generations of the Later Guptas, represented by Kumāragupta and Dāmōdaragupta, having been the opponents of two generations of the Maukharis in the persons of Īśānavarman and Śarvavarman, the third Gupta, Mahāsēna, could not have had any one but a third Maukhari for an opponent.[4] That Susthitavarman was a Maukhari was an over-sanguine surmise for which there was absolutely no basis, for, the Aphsaḍ inscription contains nothing to connect him with the Maukhari line; he might with equal probability have been a king of any other line ruling over any other part of India. A Susthitavarman is found in the *Harsha Charita* itself as the father of Bhāskaravarman of Kāmarūpa or Assam.[5] We have now a copper-plate of this Bhāskaravarman which confirms the *Harsha Charita* in this respect; indeed the names of the four immediate ancestors of Bhāskaravarman as given by Bāṇa are identical with those furnished by the

[1] Fleet, *GI.* 287. [2] *Ib.* 290.

[3] Fleet wrote: 'the Susthitavarman who was conquered in battle by Mahāsēnagupta, doubtless belongs to the same lineage'; *GI.* Intr. 15. Hoernle considered it quite possible that he was identical with Avantivarman, the next king of the family we have knowledge of, but he gave no reasons in support of his opinion; *JASB.* lviii. pt. i. 102. Mr. C. V. Vaidya follows Fleet in making a Maukhari of Susthitavarman and he assumes also that Avantivarman was Susthitavarman's son; *HMHI.* i. 34.

[4] C. V. Vaidya, *HMHI.*, i. 34.

[5] Bāṇa, *HC.CT.* 217.

copper-plate.[1] This Bhāskaravarman is the king of Kāmarūpa who, on Harsha's accession to the throne, sought his alliance.[2] As Bhāskaravarman continued to reign after even Harsha whose reign itself was a long one of 41 years, it is not improbable that Bhāskaravarman too was as young in years when he came to the throne as Harsha.[3] If we remember that the Mādhavagupta who was the companion of Harsha, according to the *Harsha Charita*, has been accepted on almost all hands as the son of Mahāsēnagupta and if we note also that Harsha, Mādhava and Bhāskara were probably of an age, we may well draw the conclusion that their fathers, Prabhākaravardhana, Mahāsēnagupta and Susthitavarman, respectively, were contemporaries. The Susthitavarman who was defeated by Mahāsēnagupta must therefore have been this Kāmarūpa king and the surmise that he was a Maukhari is not only a baseless assumption but also a needless superfluity.[4]

The next Maukhari king of whom we have notice is Avantivarman, mentioned, as already noted, in the *Harsha Charita* as the father of Grahavarman to whom Rājya-Śrī, the sister of Harsha, was married. We cannot be sure if Avantivarman was alive about the year 602 A.D. when the marriage took place, the statements of Bāṇa being obviously too slight to lead us to a definite conclusion. Perhaps, he was not alive at the time of the marriage, for Bāṇa says that Grahavarman, not Avantivarman, had sent messengers asking for Rājya-Śrī's hand;[5] surely that would have been too great presumption in the son had the father then been alive. This king is, in all probability, the 'Paramēśvara

[1] Edited by Prof. Padmanatha Bhattacharya in *EI.* xii. 65-99.

[2] Bāṇa, *HC. CT.* 216-8.

[3] *EI.* xii. 66. The note of Dr. Sten Konow in *IA.* xliii, 67-8, in which this identification was first suggested, does not seem to have caught the attention of Mr. Vaidya when he wrote his valuable paper on Harsha in *JBBRAS.* xxiv. 236-276, nor even when he reprinted the paper in his *H.MHI.* i. 1-88.

[4] Prof. Padmanatha Bhattacharya did not notice this possibility when editing Bhāskaravarman's inscription. Mr. K. N. Dikshit when he first studied the finds at Nālanda failed to note that Bhāskaravarman was also represented in them. He said that the names 'Nārāyanavarman, Chandramukhavarman, Suprasthitavarman and (Pu)shkaravarman, as also Yajñavatī and Nayanasobhā are not known so far to belong to any north Indian dynasty of the late Gupta period', and he concluded that it is a 'hitherto unknown genealogy'; *ASI.E.AR.* 1917-8, p. 45. But he had only to read 'Bhāskara' for 'Pushkara' to find the genealogy reproduced, correct in every detail, in the already mentioned copper-plate of Bhāskaravarman of Kāmarūpa; *EI.* xii, 69.—Since writing this, Mr. Dikshit has had the kindness to draw my attention to the article of Mr. R. D. Banerji (*JBORS.*, vi) and to his own article (*JBORS.* vi, 151-2) in which this identification stands established.

[5] Bāṇa, *HC. CT.* 122-3; quoted on p. 77.

Avantivarman' of the Deō-Baranārk inscription who was one of the kings who had confirmed the grant of a village to the Sun. There are reasons to believe that he was the patron of Viśākhadatta, the author of the famous Sanskrit play, the *Mudrārākshasa*.[1]

That Grahavarman succeeded his father Avantivarman, that he was the brother-in-law of Harsha and that he met an untimely death at the hands of Dēvagupta of Mālwa are all well known. How Dēvagupta put Grahavarman's widow, the young Rājya-Śrī, ignominiously into prison, how Rājyavardhana, Harsha's elder brother and predecessor on the throne, marched to her rescue but was treacherously slain by Śaśāṅka of Bengal who had marched to Dēvagupta's assistance, how Harsha, now king through his brother's premature death, procured the defeat of Dēvagupta, how he rushed post-haste to the Vindhyas in search of Rājya-Śrī who, having meanwhile been released by an underling of the Gupta, had fled towards that range of mountains for refuge, how he found her about to enter a funeral pyre having lost hopes of being rescued by her brother, and how he rescued her at the last moment are all set forth with much art and considerable pathos in the pages of the *Harsha Charita*. Harsha then placed his sister on Grahavarman's vacant throne, evidently superseding thereby the claims of Grahavarman's younger brothers,[2]— being perhaps induced to take this step as much through love of his sister[3] as through the ambition of making himself master of north India. For some years, probably to conciliate the adherents of the Maukharis, he called himself *Kumara*, 'the king's son',[4] making it appear that the Maukhari line was continued in Rājya Śrī. This theory suggests the best explanation of the warning which the oracle is said to have addressed to Harsha, 'Ascend not the lion-throne and call not yourself Mahārāja,'[5] and of the other circumstances connected with Harsha's accession to the throne. But as he subsequently abandoned Thanesar, the capital of his family, and invested himself with the titles proper to the assumption of the imperial dignity, we may have to conclude that the rule of the Maukharis was put an end to by Harsha and that Rājya-Srī receded gradually into the background. A possible qualification of this theory will be stated lower down.

Grahavarman.

Rājya-Srī.

Harsha perhaps succeeded Grahavarman.

Dr. S. Konow in *IA*. xliii, 67–8. *Cf*. *JRAS*., 1900, pp. 535–6 and 1923, pp. 585–593
Bāṇa, *HC*. *CT*. 122, speaks of Grahavarman as the *eldest* son of Avantivarman.
C.V. Vaidya, *HMHI*. i, 7–8.
Beal, *Buddhist Records*, p. 213.
Ib.

Dominions and dates.

We may now turn to a discussion of the extent of the dominions and the probable dates of these Maukhari kings.

The Maukhari conquests.

The two great figures in Maukhari history, so far down in our survey, are undoubtedly Īśānavarman and Śarvavarman. The greatness of Īśānavarman stands out clearly if, disregarding for the moment the number of the victories attributed to him, we looked at the extent of the regions over which he seems to have been able to scatter his enemies. One defeated adversary fled to the Raivataka mountain in Sourāshṭra; a king of Dhārā was crushed and the king of the Āndhras took refuge in the Vindhyas. If we turn to a map and look up Dhārā and Asirgadh, we find them close together with only the Vindhyas lying between. If the king of Dhārā and the Lord of the Āndhras were both defeated and if the latter found shelter in the Vindhyas, is it improbable that the not distant Asirgadh fell into the hands of the Maukharis? If we assume that the Maukharis took Asirgadh, we find an adequate explanation for the seal of Śarvavarman having been found there and we need not suppose that it had aimlessly floated so far south and over the Vindhyas on the waves of inexplicable circumstance. Against this supposition must be set the fact that there is no explicit and unambiguous mention of the Maukharis having taken the kingdoms in which respectively were to be found Asirgadh, Dhārā and the Raivataka mountain. No record says that Dhārā was taken; on the other hand, the language being that 'a spark of fire that had come by the road from Dhārā' was extinguished, it is clear that the king of Dhārā marched from that city against the Maukharis and was defeated on the way. Similarly, the Raivataka mountain is not said to have been scaled and taken but merely to have afforded asylum to a monarch worsted in battle. So too, the king of the Āndhras, on suffering defeat, 'took up his abode in the crevices of the Vindhyas.' But the Jaunpur inscription from which these facts are taken contains a second reference to the Āndhras which is separated from the previous one by some distance, — a reference which speaks of a defeat of the Āndhra army. We have no instance, in any other record noticed so far, of two passages not much removed from each other in the same document referring to the same incident; we have therefore some justification for believing that the Āndhras were defeated twice. It may be that those portions which are now lost of the Jaunpur inscription contained fuller details. If this be so, it does not look improbable that the

fortress of Asirgadh fell into the hands of the Maukharis. No other suggestion explains, at any rate, how Śarvavarman's seal could have migrated to Asirgaḍh. Further, the *Harsha Charita*, in narrating vividly the misfortunes of Rājyā-Śrī, the widow of Grahavarman and the sister of Harsha, says that, when she escaped from the prison to which she had been consigned on the defeat and assassination of her husband, she fled to the Vindhyas for refuge and in the hope of rescue from her brother Harsha. Neither in the description of her wanderings towards that range of mountains nor in the other description of the search which Harsha made for her subsequently is there the least hint of Rājya-Śrī having been apprehensive of trouble from any ruler of those parts or of Harsha having been impeded by any of them in his quest for her. The flight of Rājya-Śrī and Harsha's famous ride in search of her having happened within a few weeks of Harsha's succeeding to his brother Rājyavardhana and while yet a stripling, we have to draw the inference that the rulers of these regions were wholly subordinate to him or to the power to whom he succeeded. His predecessors in his own line, the Vardhanas of Thanesar, had been third-rate rulers and could not have reduced to subjection the large stretch of country extending down to the Vindhyas. None of their records puts forward claims of that kind. If, on the other hand, all that land was subject to Grahavarman, the husband of Rājya-Śrī, we find an explanation of why the marches of both Rājya-Śrī and Harsha were quite unobstructed. If the lands down to the Vindhyas were subject to the Maukharis in the days of Grahavarman, it is but reasonable to grant the claim made in the inscriptions of Īśānavarman that he conquered the king of the Āndhras and made him take refuge in the Vindhyas, and the inference drawn above is justified that these regions fell under the yoke of the Maukharis in Īśānavarman's days. One short step from this is enough to take us to the further conclusion that Asirgadh was perhaps a Maukhari outpost. We may therefore take it, tentatively, that the inscriptions mean not only that the Āndhra king was defeated by Īśānavarman but also that some portion of his territories were taken by the Maukharis. An almost similar inference might be warranted in the case of the victory over the Śūlikas, attributed, in the Haṛāhā inscription, to Īśānavarman. The Śūlikas have been identified with the Muḷakas, a people in the north-west division of Āryavarta, though not

with certainty.[1] It is in the north-west of Āryavarta that we find Nirmaṇḍ, the village near Simla which, we have supposed, lay within the dominions of Śarvavarman. The statement in the Haṛāhā inscription that Īśānavarman defeated the Śūlikas may be susceptible, therefore, of the interpretation that the territories of the Śūlikas passed under Īśānavarman. We have, however, another suggestion, by no means improbable, that the Śūlikas were perhaps the Chalukyas, the name being a dialectal variant like Chalikya, Solaki and Solaṅki,[2] but we know of no Chalukyan king who could have been worsted by the Maukharis. On a consideration of all the facts now before us we may not be shooting far wide of the mark if we conjectured that Asirgadh came to lie within the territories of the Maukharis in the days of Īśānavarman, and Nirmaṇḍ in those of Śarvavarman, and that both places passed down to Avantivarman and Grahavarman,—and to Harsha also.

Though we have had, so far, no dates for these kings, we have one or two obvious synchronisms and a glimmer of a few more which are not only possible, but also quite probable, ones. The difference in age between Harsha and his brother-in-law Grahavarman was not very marked, for aught we know, and it looks as if Harsha, Mādhavagupta and Bhāskaravarman were all of about the same age; for, on the one hand, Harsha and Bhāskaravarman are pictured as youths by Bāṇa when they entered into an alliance with each other, and, on the other, the fact of Mādhavagupta's son Ādityasēna being alive in 673–674,[3] after what was evidently a long reign, would show that 67 years earlier, when Harsha as a youth ascended the throne, Ādityasēna's father, Mādhavagupta, could not himself have been very much older. It would follow that Harsha's father Prabhākaravardhana, Grahavarman's father Avantivarman, Mādhavagupta's father Mahāsēnagupta[4] and Bhāskaravarman's father Susthitavarman belonged to the same generation and probably were of about the same age,—a surmise which is supported by the *Harsha Charita* and by the fact of the Aphsaḍ inscription attributing a victory over a Susthitavarman to Mahāsēnagupta. The intercalation of Susthitavarman into the Maukhari genealogy

[1] V. A. Smith in *ZDMG.* lvi. 674, where he quotes *Brihat-Samhita*, cited in *IA.* xxii, 186. Compare Prof. E. H. Rapson's note in *Cat. Coins, Āndhra Dy.*, xxxi; see also, *IA.* xxii, 190.

[2] Dr. H. C. Raychaudhury, *JASB.* N.S., xvii. 319 n 6.

[3] Fleet, *GI.* 209, 210.

[4] I am assuming this relationship for the present, but I shall return to it presently.

would be possible only if a very short reign is assigned to him, but no justification whatever is available for wrenching him from his throne of Kāmarūpa.[1] Going higher up the genealogical tree, we find Mahāsēnagupta's father Dāmōdaragupta winning a victory and yet losing his life in a conflict with the 'Maukhari.' Ascending one step more we find that Dāmōdaragupta's father Kumāragupta claims to have routed the forces of Īśānavarman,— and as Īśānavarman's son is stated in epigraphic records to be Śarvavarman and the appellation 'the Maukhari' has been shown to be applied in all probability to this Śarvavarman, the contemporaneity of Śarvavarman and Dāmōdaragupta and also of Īśānavarman with Kumāragupta may be taken as fully established. We may, therefore, assume that Īśānavarman's three immediate ancestors were contemporaries of the three immediate forebears of Kumāragupta.

How was Avantivarman related to Śarvavarman?

That Śarvavarman and Avantivarman belong to two successive generations is obvious, but what was the relationship between them? The interposition of Susthitavarman between these two having been taken for granted, it was further assumed that Śarvavarman had a son Susthitavarman whose son was Avantivarman.[2] Having shown that Susthitavarman has no place in the Maukhari genealogy, we see no reason to continue to assume that Avantivarman was Śarvavarman's son. There is absolutely nothing in the facts so far set forth to indicate that they were related in any wise, much less as father and son. Epigraphic records speak to us of Śarvavarman and his ancestors but they tell us nothing of his successors; the *Harsha Charita* acquaints us with Avantivarman and his son Grahavarman but it does not tell us, directly or indirectly, of Śarvavarman or the other members of that family. We seem to have no basis for even supposing that Śarvavarman and Avantivarman belonged to the same family.

Maukhari coins and inscriptions.

A consideration of some facts such as those relating to the provenance of the Maukhari inscriptions, seals and coins may lead us to tentative conclusions in respect not only of the question of the relationship between Śarvavarman and Avantivarman, but also of the connexion between those Maukharis whom we find described as the descendants of Harivarman and those who are stated to be the descendants of Yajñavarman and the periods in, and the areas over, which these kings ruled.[3]

[1] C. V. Vaidya, *HMHI.*, i. 34.
[2] C. V. Vaidya, *HMHI.*, i. 34 and his genealogical tree on p. 37.
[3] See the map at the end.

The clay-seal with the legend in the Asokan characters was found in Gayā. The inscriptions in which mention is made of Yajñavarman and his two descendants are to be found in the Barābār and Nāgārjunī Hills, some 15 miles to the north-east of Gayā. These three kings are not the only Maukharis who have left behind memorials of them in Gayā; the other Maukharis too have left their marks in the vicinity of that old city. To its north-east, in Nālanda, were found seals mentioning Īśānavarman and Śarvavarman, and a gift by a Śarvavarman, confirmed by an Avantivarman, was made of the village of Deo-Barnark, some 50 miles to the north-west of Gayā. Valuable records of these kings are found, however, a little to the north-east and to the west of Lucknow. The dated inscription of the days of Īśānavarman (and his son Sūryavarman) was found near Haṛāhā, almost due east of Lucknow. A large hoard of coins of Īśānavarman and Śarvavarman, along with those of kings of other dynasties, was discovered at Bhiṭauri, not very far east of Haṛāhā.[1] From Ayōdhya, not far to the west of this place, Haṛāhā, came some coins of Īśānavarman.[2] Farther to the south-east of Lucknow,— indeed half-way between Lucknow and Gayā,— some leagues due north of Benares, built into a mosque at Jaunpur, was to be found the inscription claiming victories for the Maukharis over Āndhras and others. As far to the north-west of Lucknow, at Ahicchatra, was discovered a coin of Īśānavarman.[3] Almost between Lucknow and Ahicchatra lies Kanouj (or Kanyākubja) where was imprisoned Rājya-Śrī after the assassination of her husband, Grahavarman. Farther still to the north-west stood the city of Sthāṇvīśvara, the capital of Harsha's father Prabhākara-vardhana, and we might expect the Maukhari dominions to end before they reach the city which was the capital of a different line of kings but for our finding a Śarvavarman, perhaps of the Maukhari line, making a gift of a village close to Nirmaṇḍ, a place on the upper course of the Sutlej,— indeed, a few miles to the north-east of the modern Simla. The only find-places of records making mention of the Maukharis which seem to be too far removed are Nirmaṇḍ and Asirgadh,— the village which was once granted by Śarvavarman and the hill-fort where was found the copper-seal mentioning him.

[1] R. Burn, *JRAS.*, 1906, pp. 843–50.
[2] Cunningham, *ASI.R.*, ix. 27.
[3] *Ib.*

The probabilities.

A few probabilities emerge. None of the line of three kings of which Yajñavarman was the first seems to have ruled beyond the country surrounding Gayā. But the line which had Harivarman for its forebear held sway over Gayā and its surroundings,—at least during the days of Īśānavarman, Śarvavarman and Avantivarman, all of whom find mention in records of that region. Though the records of this latter line seem to be numerous round about Gayā and to the east of Lucknow, we also find reminiscences of them in the country lying between. Much of the country to the north-west of Lucknow seems also to have been theirs. If Nirmaṇḍ also was under their sway in the days of Śarvavarman, we should think not only that he was among the greatest of them but also that the intervening country of Sthāṇvīśvara was in his hands. That this is probable seems to be clear from the facts that Sthāṇvīśvara comes into prominence under Prabhākaravardhana in the generation after that of Śarvavarman. These Maukharis, therefore, seem to have been masters of the whole of the valley of the Ganges and, if Nirmaṇḍ and Sthāṇvīśvara are included, of also the country lying between the Ganges and the easternmost tributaries of the Indus. To these may have to be added the territories down to Asirgadh—and perhaps to the Raivataka mountains. This is a vast stretch of country, and these Maukharis must have been very powerful to have acquired it and to have held it perhaps for about four generations. Kanouj being more conveniently located in this large stretch of country than any city in Magadha could be, was probably made the capital.[1] None the less, it is the district round Gayā that seems to have remained the home-lands of the Maukharis, for it is here that the Mauharī caste is still flourishing.

Probable origins of Harsha's greatness.

The possibility of the Maukharis having been able to control all these territories during a period when the Vardhanas of Thanesar are not known to have been very powerful and the circumstance that the Vardhana line comes to the forefront on the extinction of the Maukhari dynasty suggest a rather startling conclusion in respect of the origins of Harsha's greatness. If the Maukharis had before Grahavarman's days extended their power over the major portion of north India, if before Harsha the

[1] Mr. Vaidya states, *HMHI.* i 33, that 'Grahavarman came from there and was killed there and Rajyashri was also imprisoned there,' but I am not able to find the words of Bāṇa which support the two former statements. That Rājya-Śrī was imprisoned in Kanouj (*HC.CT.* 173, 224) does not prove that it was her husband's capital. See also Smith in *JRAS.* 1908, pp. 771–2.

Vardhanas of Thanesar were inconspicuous rulers,—which there is no reason to doubt,—and if Harsha ostensibly placed Graha-varman's widow, Rājya-Śrī, on the throne and himself professed to be only a 'Kumara,' we have adequate basis for a belief that Harsha came into an empire by stepping dexterously into the shoes of the Maukharis.

A dated inscription.

Apart from synchronisms, we have some material on which to base an attempt to fix the dates of these kings. The one dated inscription of the Maukharis is the one found at Haṛāhā. It says that a 'temple of the Trident-wielder (Śiva), shining like an empty cloud was (re)constructed" in the year 'when six hundred *autumns* had been *increased* by eleven, while the illustrious Īśānavarman, who had crushed his enemies was the lord of the earth."[2] This would show that the inscription is dated in the year 600 *plus* 11, that is 611, and that Īśānavarman was then king. But as the word for 'increased,' *atirikta*, may also mean 'redundant,' it is possible to argue that 11 should be subtracted from 600, in which case the date would be 589. But there being no instance of the use of the word in the latter sense, and the term *autumns* being peculiarly appropriate to the Vikrama era which began in that season of the year, the inscription has been held to be dated in the year 611 of that era.[3]

Dates on coins.

The problem of the era to which this date belongs has to be carefully considered along with the question of what dates are to be assigned to certain coins of these Maukharis.[4] Finds of single coins and of one large hoard have brought to light a number of coins of Īśānavarman, Sarvavarman and Avantivarman, and dates

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[1] The Haṛāhā inscription, verse 22. *EI.* xiv. 120.

[2] *Ib.* verse 21.

[3] Mr. Hirananda Sastri, *Ib.* 113. In *n.* 1, he says: 'The Dictionary gives "redundant" as one of the meanings of *atirikta*. This would suggest that 11 is to be deducted from 600. But no instance is known to me where the word is used in this way.' See also *Luck. Mus. AR.* 1914-5, p. 3 *n.*, and Mr. Nanigopal Majumdar's paper in *IA.* xlvi. 126.

[4] Mr. K. N. Dikshit has had the kindness to place at my disposal a copy of his paper on 'The Dates on the Coins of the Maukharis' which he read at the All-India Oriental Conference at Calcutta (the 2nd session) together with a rejoinder by Mr. R. Burn and a sur-rejoinder by Mr. Dikshit himself. I much regret that these papers still remain unpublished. Mr. Dikshit, in his paper, advances a theory that some of the coins of the Maukharis are to be read in the Kshatrapa, and others in the Gupta, fashion. 'In the Kshatrapa coins,' he says, 'the numerical symbols which form the date are invariably to be found in a row from left to right when the coin is turned at an angle of 90 degrees to the right from the proper position of the head. In some of the Gupta coins, the symbols forming the date are to be found in the same position, but in others the date is to be read in the usual position of the head, the numbers forming the date being placed vertically one below the other.' The references in the accompanying table are to these unpublished papers.

are to be found on some of them. Various attempts have been made to read the dates but they cannot be said to have yielded definite data. In the table below and the foot-notes to it will be found an analysis of the more important of the various readings of the dates and the opinions of the scholars who have examined these coins.

King.	Cunningham.	Fleet.	Smith.	Burn.	Brown.	Dikshit.
Īśānavarman ...	(-)55 *a* 257 *b*	*c*	54 *d*	(4)x *e*	xx5? *f*	245 *g* 257 *s* 54 *h* 55 *i* 57 *j*
Śarvavarman ...			58 *k*	(2)34 *l* (2)3x *l*	(2)34 *m* (2)3x *m*	258 *n* 259 *s* 25x *s* 58 *o*
Avantivarman ...				250 *p* (5)7 *q* 71 *p*	250 *r* x57 *r* x70 *r*	260 *s* 26x *s* 57 *s* 71 *s*

Results.

This collection of the various readings brings it out clearly that the only readings put forward with any confidence are 54 and 257 for Īśānavarman, 58 for Śarvavarman and 71 and 250 for Avantivarman. If these readings are correct two different eras must have been used on the coins of this dynasty,—the dates in two digits having to be assigned to one era and those in three digits to another.

Analysis of readings.

(*a*) '*No. 20* . . . with imperfect date . . . Legend in old Gupta characters . . . "His Majesty Santi Varman having conquered the earth rules." *Nos. 21 and 22.* Similar coins, but less perfect . . . The date appears to be the same on all the three specimens in the plate. I read it as 55, and would complete it to 155 if I could be certain that this Santi Varma is the same as the king who is mentioned in the Aphsar inscription.' (*ASI.R.* ix. 27.) In a later report he adds: 'On referring to the silver coin which I formerly assigned to Santi Varma I find that the name is clearly and unmistakably Isana Varman. I possess two of these coins, one of which has a date in front of the face, which may be read as 257. If referred to the Balabhi era of A.D. 319, the date of Isana Varma will be 318+257=575, which . . . agrees with the date of his antagonist Kumara Gupta. As a curious proof of the antagonism between the Guptas and the Maukharis I may cite the facts that on the coins the Maukhari king has his face turned to the left, in the opposite direction to that of the Gupta kings. This opposition is also seen in the coins of Toramana, the successor and probable supplanter of Budha Gupta.' (xvi. 81.)

(*b*) See the latter half of the previous note: *ASI.R.* xvi. 81.

(*c*) Fleet translates the legend and reads the date thus: 'Victorious is his Majesty, the lord of the earth, the glorious Isanavarman who has conquered the earth.' . . . 'On the obverse of the coin figured by General Cunningham as No. 22, in front of the king's face there are two marks which may perhaps be the numerical symbols for 40, 60, or 70 and 5. But they are very imperfect and doubtful.' *IA.* xiv. 68.

If 54 is a date for Īśānavarman, 58 for Śarvavarman and 71 for Avantivarman, it is clear that Śarvavarman, the intermediate king, could not have reigned for more than 17 years. But 257 for Īśānavarman and 250 for Avantivarman, a successor of his, are palpable absurdities,—unless we fancy the readings to be so reliable that we cannot but postulate a third era. Whether we take it that the date of the Haṛāhā inscription is 589 or 611, we are

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(*d*) 'No. 1. *Obv.* Head to left, as in Toramana's, coins. Date, apparently in same era as Toramana's, 54 . . . This coin is probably one of Īçāna Varman. . . . A specimen of his coinage with the same date as Dr. Hoey's coin figured in *Coins of Mediaeval India*, Pl. ii. 12. Although the date is quite plain Cunningham notes it as "not read." This date in the unknown era for Īçāna Varman is of importance. . . .' (*Further Observations on the History and Coinage of the Gupta Period*, in *JASB*. 1894, p. 193.)

(*e*) 'One coin bears a date which I read as 4?, but even the tens figure is doubtful. The head of the peacock is turned to the left on four coins and to the right on five. The portrait shows a face with a strongly marked aquiline nose. . . .' *JRAS*. 1906, p. 844.

(*f*) *Catalogue of the Coins of the Guptas, Maukharis, etc., in the Provincial Museum, Lucknow*, (1920), 39. Mr. Brown follows Mr. Burn closely in all the readings.

(*g*) 'It is possible that this reading of the date may be questioned, but that it consisted of three figures with 200 as the first figure is beyond doubt. Again, 'This may be taken as 54 if the coins are to read in the Gupta fashion.'

(*h*) 'It is not clear whether two or more symbols were used. Assuming there were two, the reading . . . 54 may be accepted.'

(*i*) Reading 55 in the Gupta fashion and 57 in Kshatrapa fashion 'we get 57 and a clear 55 as probable equivalents.'

(*j*) See note (*i*)

(*k*) 'No. 2. *Obv.* Head to left, as in No. 1, but the head differs. On this No. 2 coin, the king has a hooked nose. Date, in same era, 58. . . . *Rev.* . . . *Vijitāvanir-avani-pati Çri Çarvva Varmma dēva jayati.*' (*Ib.*). Again, 'The legend on the coin dated 58 is damaged, and every letter of the king's name cannot be read with certainty. But the name begins with Ça, and I have no doubt that the reading above given is correct . . . the coin now published is the first which has been recognized as belonging to Carvva Varman.' (*Ib.* 194).

(*l*) 'Two coins bear dates which I read as 234 and 23—. The face is to right, and the reading of 200 is thus not quite certain, as the mark denoting the number of hundreds which stands at the right of the symbol is not on the coin.' *JRAS*. 1906, p. 844. 'The coins of Sarvavarman bear a head facing right, while on the others the head faces left'; p. 844. 'The only coins of Sarvavarman known hitherto bear a head to left instead of to right' (p. 847).

(*m*) Brown, *op. cit.*, 39.

(*n*) 'The upper one (figure) is partly obliterated, but can very well form part of a two hundred. I find myself justified in reading the date as 258.' Also: 'Read in Gupta fashion the date must be 58.'

(*o*) See note (*n*).

(*p*) 'Three distinct dates are found, viz., (*a*) 250 (one coin), (*b*) 57 (five coins), (*c*) 71 (one coin)'; *JRAS*. 1906, p. 846.

(*q*) 'It will be noticed that Sarvavarman's and Avantivarman's dates overlap, and it is possible that what I have read as 57 for the latter should be 67.' *JRAS*. 1906, p. 849.

(*r*) Brown, *op. cit.*, 40. Evidently Mr. Brown's 'date read—70' is a mistake for '71.'

(*s*) These dates are put forward by Mr. K. N. Dikshit in his paper.

saddled with one more era,—a fourth. If we are to admit that four eras are represented in the dates now available, it may be worth attempting to reconcile the various dates we are faced with. The accompanying table shows against each of these dates the year of the Roman calendar which is equivalent to it in the various eras which were current in north India in that age; differences of about a year are quite possible, the exact date of each year of the various eras not having been ascertained here with absolute precision, but they do not much matter for our purpose.[1]

Name of King.	Year on the coin or in the inscription.	Equivalent A.D. if the Era adopted is							
		Maurya.	Vikrama.	Saka.	Kalachuri.[2]		Gupta.[2]		Hypothetical.
Īśānavarman ...	54	...	.	..	301	501	373	573	553
	57	...	...	...	304	504	376	576	...
Śarvavarman ...	58	...	...	...	305	505	377	577	557
Avantivarman ...	71	...	...	...	318	518	390	590	570
Īśānavarman ...	245	...	...	...	502	...	564	...	...
	257	...	...	...	514	...	576	...	...
	258	...	...	...	515	...	577	...	...
Avantivarman ...	250	...	...	...	407	...	569	...	...
Īśānavarman ...	589	368	532	667	..		...	...	...
Īśānavarman ...	611	390	554	689	...	...	...	...	...

In choosing from among the dates which seem to be appropriate we shall have to reject all equations which would take us beyond 606 A.D., the year in which Harsha came to the throne, or before, say, 450 A.D., for the four or five generations of kings from Īśānavarman to Grahavarman could not have ruled for more than 150 years. Judged by this test the coins which bear dates of two digits cannot be held to be in any of the well-known eras set down in the table. This is why a fourth era,—tentatively called the Maukhari era,—has been postulated.[3] The hypothesis does explain those dates, but it does nothing more and is not justified by any other circumstance we know of. Of the coins bearing dates in three digits, that of Īśānavarman dated 257 should be taken to be in the

[1] I am not encumbering the table with equations which are obviously impossible.

[2] For each of these two eras I have shown two sets of dates, the first being based on the supposition that the corresponding figures on the coins are of only two digits, and the second being worked out on the assumption that the figure 2 was left out in the hundreds place.

[3] By Mr. R. Burn, *JRAS.* 1906, pp. 848-9.

Kalachuri era, and that of Avantivarman dated 250 should be in the Gupta era.[1] But we have no instance parallel to this; four eras are not known to have been used by one dynasty, and no dynasty has used concurrently the Vikrama, the Kalachuri and the Gupta eras as also an era started specially to do honour to itself. Had these coins been found scattered over areas widely separated, we might have room for supposing that the dynasty, having subjugated various countries, did not choose to supplant the eras current in each of them; but all of them come from within a short radius of Lucknow, and the district round about that city cannot be said to have been the centre of an empire of the very composite character which such a theory would assume.

An examination of the readings not advanced with any great confidence by the authorities whom we have already quoted leads us to no better results. If we follow Cunningham and read 55 as 155 for Īśānavarman we cannot understand how 234 would be suitable for his successor Śarvavarman. Even though we allow ourselves full latitude and in every one of such cases supply in the hundreds place, any figure from 1 to 6,— for other figures would not help us,— and even though we manipulate the eras to suit our convenience, we are no nearer a passably accurate solution.

We have thus very little justification for building elaborate arguments on the basis of these readings. They are so various and so fanciful,— witness the contradictions and the suppositions exhibited in the foot-notes to the first table of dates,— that little reliance can be placed on them. We do not know that the dates on the coins are decipherable with that accuracy which is necessary for our purpose.[2]

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[1] In the unpublished paper already quoted from, Mr. Dikshit says: 'the Malava and the Gupta were the only eras in circulation at the time and if there were any Maukhari era in existence it ought to have been used in the Harāhi inscription in preference to the Malava-Vikrama era.'

[2] Mr. Nanigopal Majumdar says: '. . . it is important for us to know for certain, whether the coins of Sarvavarman actually give us a date and whether that date is equal to the Christian year 553. Through the kindness of Mr. R. D. Banerji, I had occasion to examine the hoard of Maukhari coins (discovered in the Fyzabad district) now, deposited in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. I am sorry to say that the date-marks on the coins of Sarvavarman (as well as of other Maukhari kings) have totally disappeared and as such it is impossible to say at which particular date those coins were issued. So it is better not to infer anything from them and hazard a doubtful reading that may or may not be correct. I may also add that Mr. Banerji is also of the same opinion, and I am sure that will be the opinion of all who examine the coins with any care'; *IA*. xlvi. 126. Pandit B.B. Bidyabinod, in his *Sup. Cat. Coins in Ind. Mus. Cal., Non-Muhammadan*, i. 36-7, catalogues the coins of these three Maukharis but does not note that they contain any dates. Mr. Brown also says that he would 'hesitate' to accept any of the dates deciphered by Mr. Burn 'without further corroborative evidence'; *op. cit.* v.

Īśānavarman's date is c. 554-5 A.D.

The coins refusing stubbornly to yield their secret, we may turn to the one dated inscription of the Maukharis, the Harahā inscription. Whatever doubts there may be as to whether 589 or 611 is the correct date there is little doubt of the inscription being dated in the Vikrama era. Taking it to bear a Vikrama date, we find that the year 589 falls between 22nd March 532 and 9th April 533 A.D. and that the year 611 falls between 19th March 554 and 6th April 555 A.D.[1] If the reading 234 for a coin of Śarvavarman is accepted, it would be found equivalent in the Vikrama era to the year beginning on 15th March 553 and ending with 3rd March 554.[2] We have here the possibility, – or the impossibility, – of Īśānavarman being on the throne in 554-5 A.D., while his successor issued coins in 553-4 A.D., the previous year. Clearly, therefore, the readings 611 and 234 cannot *both* be correct. In view of the uncertainty of the readings on the coins we would surely be justified in preferring to accept the correctness of the date 611 in the inscription. Īśānavarman must, therefore, have been living and ruling in 554-5 A.D., which is the equivalent of the year 611 of the Vikrama era.

Whom did he conquer?

The various victories of Īśānavarman must therefore have been won about the middle of the 6th century A.D. By then the Imperial Guptas were completely extinct and it is but natural to presume that the Maukharis under Īśānavarman had to stand foremost in repulsing the attacks of the Huns. The Huns, though considerably weakened by then through the deaths of their leaders Tōramāṇa and Mihirāgula were yet powerful enough to continue to be the terror which they were when they first came into the Gangetic basin. There is thus nothing inherently impossible in the Maukharis having had to fight the Huns often,[3] though we have at present one reference only to any conflict between them. The death of Yaśōdharman of Mālwa must have also been a reason for the Maukharis coming into prominence as the principal antagonists of the Huns. The victories claimed for Īśānavarman must therefore be true but we cannot identify the kings whom he conquered.

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[1] L. D. Swamikkannu Pillai, *An Indian Ephemeris*, I.i.

[2] *Ib.*

[3] Mr C. V. Vaidya's conjecture that, as Thanesar intervenes between Kanouj and the Punjab (then the land of the Huns), the Maukhari and the Vardhana forces, of Kanouj and Thanesar, respectively, were allied against those of the Huns does not seem to be probable. If our conjecture that the Maukhari sway extended far beyond the confines of Sthāṇvīśvara to the banks of the Sutlej, as we have some reason to infer from the Nirmaṇḍ inscription, there can be no question but that the Maukharis themselves bore the brunt of the conflict.

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We do not know whom 'the spark of fire from Dhārā' denotes and the history of Western Mālwa, of which Dhārā must then have been the capital, is at present too obscure for us to be able to identify him with any approach to certainty. Nor are we better informed in regard to the history of the Āndhras of this period and we must confess to equal ignorance as to who 'the Lord of the Andhras' could be.[1] That the Āndhra king took refuge in the Vindhya mountains is a fact which, though informing, is none the less perplexing. We are in too much darkness to be able to discriminate nicely between the king of Dhārā, the king of the Andhras and the king who fled to the Raivataka mountains. The identification of the Śūlikas with the Muḷakas, 'a people in the north-west division' of Aryavarta, does not look convincing, though we could find some justification for it if we could accept the suggestion that the Maukhari power extended as far as the Sutlej. Our plight as regards the Gauḍas is no better. We may therefore be content to leave these personages to be identified by future discoveries.[2]

The relationship between the two Maukhari lines.

If Īśānavarman ruled in 554 A.D., or even if he ruled in 532 A.D., a hypothesis based on the other interpretation of the doubtful word, his great-grandfather, Harivarman, who is the first king of his line to be mentioned in the many records we have, might have ruled about 480 A.D. And if the other line of Maukharis of which Yajñavarman is the first to obtain mention could be placed in the fifth century,[3] or at least, could not 'be placed later than the

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[1] Dr. H. C. Raychaudhury believes, *JASB*, N.S. xvii. 319, *n*5, that the Āndhra king here mentioned was probably Mādhavavarman II of the Vishṇukuṇḍin family who 'crossed the river Gōdāvari with the desire to conquer the eastern region. See Dr. Jouveau-Dubreuil, *AHD*. 92.'

[2] The obscurity which envelops the history of the ancestors of Saśānka of Gauḍa is dispelled slightly by a paper of Mr. N. K. Bhattasali, Curator of the Dacca Museum, published in *JASB*, N.S. xix. 54N–64N, and an unpublished paper of which he has had the kindness to send me an advance copy. Mr. K. N. Dikshit has extended the period of the sway of the Guptas by reading the date of one of the Dāmōdarpūr plates as 224 (*EI*. xvii. 193). My contentions about Harsha—which I had set down above before I had seen any of the papers mentioned here,—Prof. R. C. Majumdar's views on Harsha in *JBORS*, ix 321–325—from some of whose arguments I dissent,—and a paper on the Later Guptas by Prof. Radha Kumud Mookerjee submitted to the 3rd Sessions of the All India Oriental Conference (Madras) at which I have had only a glance seem to put a new colour on Harsha's history. The history of north India in the sixth and seventh centuries A.D. requires to be re-written in the light of the latest researches; a revaluation of the material will show the Maukharis and Harsha in a new perspective. The subject is too complicated to be gone into here, though the Maukharis are deeply inculpated in it, and so I am discussing it separately.

[3] *IA*. xi. 428 *n*.

first half of the 6th century,"[1] is it likely that these two lines were ruling simultaneously? It may be that it was so and that then Yajñavarman's line was the stronger of the two, for Harivarman and Anantavarman, the first two members of the other line, are quite shadowy figures in the records of their descendants and have themselves left none. It may even be that the line of Yajñavarman was succeeded by that of Harivarman, but not necessarily by Harivarman himself, but by, say, Īśvaravarman.[2] To suppose that Harivarman's line was preceded by Yajñavarman's would be to grant that the Maukharis were on the throne of Magadha at a time when the Imperial Guptas had not grown so weak as to prevent rivals springing up in Magadha itself.

Avantivarman may be Śarvavarman's son.

So too, if two kings Śarvavarman and Avantivarman are found ruling over the same areas and as members of the same families, and if the circumstances are such as to raise a presumption that they came the one after the other, the conclusion may be permitted that they were close relations, say, brothers or father and son. This is the only legitimate inference we can draw from the details now available to us in respect of them; but there is no room for asserting, as has been done, that Avantivarman was the son of Śarvavarman.

Avantivarman was followed by his son Grahavarman whose rule must have been very short. On Grahavarman's death his kingdom must have merged, as has already been pointed out, in the empire which Harsha's genius began almost immediately after to build up. But we are not aware if the home-lands of the Maukharis came also under Harsha's yoke. The statement made by Hiuen Tsang is to the effect that 'proceeding eastwards he (Harsha) invaded the states which have refused allegiance, and waged incessant warfare until in six years he had brought the Five Indies under allegiance.'[3] but another version of the passage, based on a different reading is that he merely '*fought* the Five Indies.'[4] Whether he had only fought the kings of the surrounding countries or had also subdued them does not much matter; for it is obvious in either case that he did not uproot them. If further evidence were necessary to corroborate this conclusion we would find it in the circumstance that though

Harsha's hold over Magadha.

[1] *EI.* vi. 3.
[2] Mr. Vaidya calls Harivarman's the principal Maukhari line, and Yajñavarman's the subsidiary one; *HMHI.* i. 330. I can find no warrant whatever for this view.
[3] Watters, *On Yuang Chwang's Travels in India*, i. 343.
[4] *Ib.*

and other north Indian kingdoms.

Harsha, according to Bāṇa, declared that he wished quickly to see 'the smoke-cloud from this vilest of Gauḍa's pyre,'— the Gauḍa being Śaśāṅka, king of Gauḍa, who had assassinated Harsha's brother,[1]— and also registered a solemn oath that he would 'in a limited number of days clear this earth of Gauḍas,'[2] and according to Hiuen Tsang 'commanded his ministers, saying "the enemies of my brother are unpunished as yet, the neighbouring countries not brought to submission, while this is so my right hand shall never take food to my mouth," '[3] yet we find Śaśāṅka on the throne in the year 619 A.D., some thirteen years after Harsha's accession.[4] Either Harsha did not succeed in fulfilling his vow or he was content with a bare acknowledgment of overlordship. That Harsha was not able, at least in his earlier days and in the regions of Magadha and Gauḍa, to check the vagaries of even those who might have accepted his overlordship, would be clear from the chequered history of the sacred *Bôdhi* tree at Gayā,— a tree to which Harsha would have had some attachment as a devout admirer of the Buddha. One king,— and he was none other than Śaśāṅka,— dared enter Buddha Gayā and 'destroyed the convents and cut down the *Bôdhi* tree, digging it up to the very springs of the earth' and 'then burnt it with fire,' and it was reserved to another king, Pūrṇavarman,— king of Magadha, within whose traditional confines Buddha Gayā lies, to — to revive the tree with his unremitting and affectionate attentions.[5] Evidently, even the countries which Harsha conquered were left in the possession of their original sovereigns. If Harsha was not able effectively to chastise Śaśāṅka either at the beginning of his reign or when he had been over a dozen years on the throne and had reached the fulness of manhood and the plenitude of power, and if he had leapt into power by brushing the Maukharis aside, we may have not only to revise our notions of Harsha as the sole and sufficient architect of an extensive and well-knit empire but also to redress the injustice done in ignorance to the Maukharis. Perhaps Harsha is a greater figure in the cultural history of India than in the political.

An estimate of Harsha.

[1] That the Gauḍa of Bāṇa was Śaśāṅka is established by the statements of Hiuen Tsang: Beal, *Buddhist Records*, i. 210.

[2] Bāṇa, *HC.CT.*, 187.

[3] Beal, *Buddhist Records*, i. 213.

[4] Hultzsch, *EI.* vi. 143. It has been suggested that 'the date of the book (*Harsha Charita*) may be set at A.D. 610'; Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, *Uttara-Rāma-Charita*, i. p. xli. (Harvard Oriental Series.)

[5] Beal, *Buddhist Records*, ii. 118.

Pūrṇavarman: the last of the Maukharis?

This Pūrṇavarman, king of Magadha, has further interest for us. He is called, by Hiuen Tsang, 'the last of the race of Asoka-raja.'[1] When we remember that the word *Maukhari* might be a variant of *Maurya*, that Pūrṇavarman was ruling in Magadha over which had ruled both lines,—if there were two,—of the Maukharis and that in the days of Avantivarman the country of Magadha was still subject to the Maukharis, we see the possibility of the Pūrṇavarman being a member of the Maukhari race. If he was, we may have some basis for supposing that he was related to Grahavarman,[2]— perhaps as a younger brother, for we know that Grahavarman was his father's eldest son,—and that he set up his authority in Magadha, at least as a feudatory, while Kanouj and the rest of the Maukhari dominions were taken by Harsha on behalf of Rājya-Śrī, perhaps with rights of sovereignty over Magadha. The circumstances that a Maukhari governed Magadha, that Rājya-Śrī was on the throne of Kanouj as a puppet, that Harsha, the real power behind the throne of Rājya-Śrī, ruled over vast dominions under the unobtrusive title of *Kumara*, that his ancestors had been insignificant, that he himself was too young for him to have ostentatiously started his regin at about sixteen years of age by grasping at the sceptre which had been prematurely struck down from the hands of Grahavarman and that when he had established himself firmly in a few years he dropped the sobriquet of *Kumara* and the fiction of joint sovereignty and assumed titles which proclaimed him an Emperor,[3] throw a flood of light as much on the even combination of great daring and uncanny prudence in Harsha's character as on the possible extent of the Maukhari dominions under Grahavarman. Hiuen Tsang says that Pūrṇavarman was the last of his

Did Harsha put an end to the Maukhari power?

[1] Beal, *Buddhist Records*, ii. 118.

[2] It has to be admitted that Hiuen Tsang does not mention either that Harsha had a sister or that she had married into the line of Asoka,—facts which would have appealed to him as a Buddhist. Nor does he, in speaking of Pūrṇavarman, mention that the families of Pūrṇavarman and Harsha were united by marriage. But the link of marriage had snapped and Hiuen Tsang might have felt some delicacy in referring to a family which had lost its position to Harsha. That Pūrṇavarman might have been a Maukhari was first suggested by Cunningham in *ASI.R.* xv. 166.

[3] It is just possible to suppose that with the death of Pūrṇavarman some time before 637 A.D. the incubus of a wronged Maukhari dynasty lifted off Harsha's conscience. But as Bāṇa, the panegyrist of Harsha, does not scruple to mention the Maukharis in his *Kādambari* with considerable respect we have no need to imagine that Harsha had any qualms of conscience about superseding them or that he considered annexation to be beyond the *dharma* of a king. (But why is Bhatsu, the *guru* of Bāṇa, mentioned only in the *Kādambari* and not in the *Harsha Charita*,— not even where Bāṇa purports to give an account of his own life?)

of his race and that Pūrṇavarman was dead at the time of his visit to Magadha, about 637 A.D. Hiuen Tsang makes no mention of a successor.[1] We may therefore take it that the Maukharis had then become extinct in Magadha as a ruling dynasty.[2] We have ample evidence that Harsha was busy waging wars in even the latter half of his reign and it is likely that he then acquired sufficient hold over Magadha to place one of his henchmen on its throne conveniently rendered vacant by Pūrṇavarman's death. The conjecture has been advanced that Mādhavagupta, the father of Ādityasēna whom we find ruling over Magadha, as a member of the Later Gupta line, shortly after Harsha's death in 647 A.D., was elevated by Harsha to the throne of Pūrṇavarman. It looks necessary for this theory that the Later Gupta line, before Mādhavagupta, should have been ruling over some part of Mālwa and that in his days it should have been transferred to Magadha. The theory looks plausible and would explain the disappearance from Magadha of the rule of the Maukharis at this period and thereafter.[3]

The Later Guptas and Magadha.

Bhōgavarman.

The next Maukhari we come across is an indubitable Maukhari unlike Pūrṇavarman whom we attribute to that family on the basis only of uncorroborated conjectures. In a Nepalese inscription, Śivadēva II, a king of Nepal who is ascertained to have been ruling in the years 725 and 748 (?) A.D.[4] is declared to have married 'Vatsadēvī, of the family of the Maukharis who abounded in strength of arm, the daughter of the illustrious Bhōgavarman, and the daughter of the daughter of the great Ādityasēna, the lord of Magadha.'[5] This Bhōgavarman is definitely called a Maukhari; he must have been of considerable status, being the son-in-law of a 'great' king and the father-in-law of another king, and he may be placed in the first quarter of the 8th century. But he could not have been a ruler; he is referred to merely as an 'illustrious' person in a context in which his titles, if he had any, might be

[1] *IA.* xiii. 96–9 and *JRAS.* 1908, p. 785 and 1916, pp. 153–4.

[2] Dr. M. Collins, misled by his theory of the employment of secondary names in Sanskrit literature, identifies Pūrṇavarman with Grahavarman (*GDRD.* 26). The objections to this identification are numerous and obvious. Pūrṇavarman, in his own proper person, was a Buddhist, the last of the race of Asoka and a contemporary of Śaśāṅka,— conditions which, Dr. Collins strives to maintain, are satisfied by Grahavarman (*Ib.*)

[3] This theory is enforced by Mr. Vaidya with arguments which are quite ingenious and almost convincing; *HMHI.* i. 34–41.

[4] Fleet, *GI.* Intr. 189.

[5] *Ib.* 187. See also Prof. S. Lévi, *Le Népal*, ii. 167–8.

expected. Indeed, the absence of titles of dignity or of power in the reference to Bhōgavarman would seem to confirm Hiuen Tsang's statement that with Pūrṇavarman the Maukhari dynasty came to an end. So, for a full century after Grahavarman and for three-quarters of a century after Pūrnavarman, we know nothing of what befell the Maukharis. The mere mention of Bhōgavarman is too inadequate to enable us to discover precisely the status he enjoyed, the country he hailed from or his connection with the other Maukharis already mentioned.[1]

The Maukharis relapse into obscurity. That a Yaśōvarman who ruled in Kanouj, from about 675 to about 710 A.D., according to some authorities, and at about 735 A.D. according to others, was a Maukhari and that his successors at Kanouj down to about 816 A.D. were also Maukharis have been assumed on flimsy grounds.[2] No other Maukhari being heard of hereafter we may infer that after Bhōgavarman the Maukharis became too obscure to draw or deserve attention.

Was Kanouj a Maukhari capital? That Kanouj occupied the premier position in north India from the days of Harsha and that it held the primacy among the north Indian cities till all Hindustan passed into the hands of the Muhammadans is obvious,[3] but there is little reason to suppose that the Maukharis ruled from Kanouj for any length of time. Kanouj was practically the imperial capital of India from the days of Harsha, but our knowledge of Kanouj and of the Maukharis of these days is too small to afford footing for a supposition that the Maukharis had their capital at Kanouj under their more powerful sovereigns and that they claimed the imperial dignity. It has been suggested that after Kumāragupta II of the Imperial Gupta dynasty the imperial dignity 'passed away to Yaśōdharman' of Mālwa and that 'from him, it passed, for a period of four reigns, from *circa* 540

[1] Mr. Vaidya supposes, *HMHI.* i. 330, that he might have belonged to Bihar and assigns the supremely simple reason that Bihar touches his father-in-law's territory on the one side and his son-in-law's on the other.

[2] *Ib.* 335. That Yaśōvarman might be a Maukhari was a casual suggestion of S.P. Paṇḍit in the introduction to his edition of *Gauḍavaho* of Vākpatirāja, pp. cxxxiv-v., and he cited in support a remark of Cunningham stated to have been made in his *ASI.R.* xvii. 127, — where however nothing about Yaśōvarman is to be found. Perhaps, S.P. Paṇḍit referred to *ASI.R.* xv., where however all that Cunningham has to say of Yaśōvarman is to put him in a list of 'W. Magadha Maukharis' and to add two short sentences: 'His (Bhōgavarman's) father therefore must have been a *Maukhari*, and so also must have been Yaśō Varmma, who gave his name to Yasovarmapura, about A.D. 730 to 750' and 'the date of Yaśō Varmma also is known from the *Raja Taranginī*' (p. 166).

[3] Vaidya, *HMHI.* i. 26–7; the history of Kanouj as an imperial city is discussed in these pages. See also Smith in *JRAS.*, 1908, pp. 765–793.

to 585 A.D., to the Maukhari dynasty,' and support for the suggestion has been found in the fact that 'three of these Varmans, Īśāna, Śarva and Avanti, receive the imperial titles, *Mahārājādhirāja* or *Parameśvara* in two inscriptions.'[1] Apart from the facts that the period of 540-585 A.D. is perhaps too short for four reigns and that there is no reason to exclude Grahavarman from the list of hypothetical Emperors, the mere use of high-sounding titles looks too unsubstantial a basis on which to build a theory that the imperial power was exercised by the Maukharis. But if we could persuade ourselves that their dominions extended from Gauḍa in the east to the Sutlej in the west, and from the Raivataka mountains on one side and over and beyond the Vindhyas on an other, under Iśānavarman and Sarvavarman, and perhaps under Avantivarman and Grahavarman as well,—we would have sufficient provocation for believing that the Maukharis were the precursors of Harsha and could have laid pretensions to be the Emperors of north India.

Was there a Maukhari Empire?

Resumé.

Much that has been said thus far is the product of ingenuity and few indeed are the facts that could be claimed to be indubitable. The Maukharis were, in all probability a clan of ancient times, related in some degree to the Mauryas and settled round about Gayā. The first known king of these Maukharis is the dimly visible figure of Kshatravarman. In the middle of the 5th century, or perhaps in the beginning of the 6th century, a Maukhari family, of two or possibly three kings, ruled in the region of Magadha. In the 6th century we come across greater kings of the Maukharis, among the greatest of whom perhaps was Īśānavarman who is to be assigned to the middle of the century. His victories were numerous but he also sustained reverses. It is just likely that under his successor, Śarvavarman, the kingdom covered a very large portion of north India, extending perhaps as far east as the Sutlej and as far south as the Vindhyas. It may be that these two sovereigns laid pretensions to the dignity of Emperor of north India. Little is known of Avantivarman. His son Grahavarman married the daughter of the Vardhana king of Thanesar but he was cut off in youth and the Maukhari power passed into the hands of Harsha. Perhaps the later Maukhari kings found Kanouj more central than Magadha. There is the bare likelihood that Pūrṇavarman was the

[1] Hoernle, *JASB.* lviii. (i). 101-2, where he adds 'a sketch of what seems to (him) to have been the fortunes of the imperial dignity during the periods immediately before and after the Hūṇa troubles.'

last of the Maukharis and ruled over Magadha for a time as a feudatory of Harsha, and, almost a century later, there is mention of a Bhōgavarman who was a Maukhari and was closely connected with Ādityasēna the Later Gupta and Śivadēva II, the king of Nepal. Then again the Maukharis pass into obscurity.[1] The Maukharis have persisted in Magadha for quite an age, but the obscurity of their history has been redeemed by a few great figures of the sixth century.

[1] Mr. Vaidya (*HMHI.* i. 342) divides Maukhari history into two periods, the first from 500 to 606 and the second from 647 to 816 A.D., but I believe that I have sufficiently shown that no second period of any significance can be taken to be well authenticated.

CONCLUSION.

Mukari and the north Indian invasions of Tamil kings.

The mention in the *Kalingattupparaṇi* of a Mukari who was a feudatory of Karikālaṉ and was punished by him for having failed to render help in building flood-banks for the Kāvēri has made it necessary to inquire critically into various subjects, the more interesting of which are the condition of the Kāvēri in early times, the building of flood-banks by Karikālaṉ, the possibility of Mukarī being a place-name, the changes that might have occurred in the course of the Kāvēri, the likelihood of Karikālaṉ having advanced to Magadha in north India and conquered a Maukhari who was ruling there, and the invasions of north India by two other Tamil kings of whom one was almost his contemporary and the other belonged to the generation that came immediately after his.

Mukari and the Maukharis.

The history of the Maukharis of Magadha has had to be studied with special care because of the almost unrelieved obscurity which envelopes them making it difficult to verify the suspicion that one of them was the Mukari of Karikālaṉ's days. The results of our studies, however, seem to point clearly to the tenability of the theories that Karikālaṉ did invade Magadha and did conquer a Maukhari king of that country. But, even if the conjecture about the identity of Mukari and Maukhari is eliminated,— and it is really no more than a collateral issue,— we have still enough ground left to support our contentions about the period of the Tamil Śaṅgam.

The main issues.

The main issues are whether we have adequate evidence of Tamilian invasions of north India in the days of the Śaṅgam and whether such evidence as we have does point to any conclusions about the age in which those invasions must have taken place and the Tamil Śaṅgam must have flourished. The examination to which the available material has been subjected here has brought it out clearly, it is believed, that the historicity of the invasions of Karikālaṉ, Imayavarambaṉ and Śeṅguṭṭuvaṉ is indisputable. The authorities on which we have had to rely for these conclusions do not, unfortunately, contain explicit references to the date, or at least the period, to which these events have to be assigned. Though the dates of Karikālaṉ and Śeṅguṭṭuvaṉ have so far been investigated from many points of view, no one has arrived at an incontestible solution. We have, in our turn, attempted here to look at the problem from one more

point of view;—we have attempted to fix the dates of these Tamil kings by an enquiry as to which period of the history of north India would permit of their invasions. We have had to rely largely on circumstantial evidence and on a process of elimination for determining the period of these northern expeditions.

The results of this inquiry would seem to be that those invasions should be assigned,—within the limits we have adopted,—to one or more of three periods,—the *first* being from 208 to 184 B.C., the *second* being from 148 B.C. to the beginning of the first century A.D., and the *third* being the 3rd century A.D. In the present state of our knowledge of Indian history we might perhaps be safe in fixing the close of the 3rd century A.D. as the lower limit. Results.

If for any reason these invasions have to be assigned to a different period we may have to hold that the authorities on which we have relied do not furnish trustworthy bases on which to build chronological theories.

We must be content to leave it to other lines of investigation to settle more precisely the age to which these invasions and, therefore, a very important period in the history of the Tamil Śaṅgam, ought to be assigned. The one line of inquiry which has been pursued here has had the effect, it is hoped, of narrowing the issues and of eliminating doubtful data and infructuous hypotheses.

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

Continuation of note on pages 31–3.

Ādityasēna and the Chola country.

Since writing the previous portion of this note (*vide* pages 31—3), I have seen Dr. Bloch's views on the inscription of Ādityasēna which mentions his return from the Chola country (*ASI. AR.* 1902–3, page 230). Some of Dr. Bloch's observations emphasise the tenability of my suggestion. He points out that from an inscription close to this one it is evident that 'the Pāpahāriṇī tank was dug out by Ādityasēna's queen' and he says that 'the many ancient shrines round it evidently belong to the same time.' He points out also the coincidence of the last *ślōka* of this inscription (which mentions a certain Balabadhra who put up an image of Vishṇu's boar incarnation) being actually found in characters of about the same time as Ādityasēna on the top of the Mandār Hill. He further says that from the fact that the author of this inscription 'copied verbally another rock inscription on the same hill, it is evident that he had read those inscriptions, although he mistook the queen's name.' We have here ample evidence to show that though the inscription is in very late characters it does embody the substance of an inscription of the days of Ādityasēna himself.

Dr. Bloch draws attention to a local tradition that 'a Chola Raja was once cured from leprosy by bathing in the holy tank to the south of the Mandār Hill and that he selected this place as his residence, and built a large city there, the traces of which are still visible' and he seeks to associate this tank with a neighbouring one which enjoys 'the same fame for curing leprosy which the Mandāra Hill formerly did.' The tradition does not affect my contention; perhaps a Chola prince did follow in Ādityasēna's train when he returned from the Chola country, or perhaps the tradition had its birth after the days of Rājēndra-Chola I's invasion of these regions about 1022 A.D. We need not therefore suppose, with Dr. Bloch, that 'Ādityasēna became vested with the role of the leper king from the Chola country.'

Dr. Bloch would take the inscription to mean that Ādityasēna was a native of the Chola country but the inscription merely says that he 'arrived from' that country. When we can point distinctly to an Ādityasēna in the country in which he is said to have arrived and we cannot point similarly to an Ādityasēna in the Chola country it is certainly safer to assume that Ādityasēna was the native of the country in which he arrived and not of the Chola country.

Continuation of note 3 *on page* 67.

For yet another account of the *Sthala-purāṇa* of Tiruvalañjuḷi, see the *Śen-Tamiḻ*, vii. 556–567.

Continuation of note 5 *on page* 74.

I had gathered much geographical material from the ancient Tamil classics, especially all that is available in the Saṅgam literature and in the *Tēvāram*, the *Nālāyiram* and the *Periya-Purāṇam*, in the hope of reconstructing the ancient geography of the Tamil country, but I have had to abandon the idea because of the impossibility of arriving at definitive results so long as the very valuable epigraphic collection of the Madras Epigraphist remains locked up in his cupboards.

As an example of the value of inscriptions for the light which they throw on the complex problems of ancient geography, I shall add a few more facts to those already set out in respect of the Paḻaṅkāvēri, the 'Old Kāvēri.' An inscription of Parāntaka I, dated in 945 A.D., mentions the Paḻaṅkāvēri-nīr-ōḍu-kāl,—'the channel of the Old Kāvēri'—as the boundary of a piece of land in Tiruviḍaimarudūr (*MER.*, 1908,

No. 195 of 1907). The inscription is important for the confirmation it affords of the conclusion, drawn from an examination of Jñānasambandha's hymns, that we had a Paḷaṅkāvēri distinct from the Kāveri. But we do not have enough information to decide if this Paḷaṅkāvēri may be connected with the Paḷaṅkāvēri which Jñānasambandha's hymns tell us flowed beside Kumbhakonam, Śivapuram and Tirunāgēśvaram.

The information which some inscriptions give about a place called Paḷaiyāṟu is very interesting, especially when combined with information derived from literary sources. The place was perhaps so called because it stood on the banks of a river called the Paḷaiyāṟu — the 'Old River.'

We shall first study the inscriptions. Rājēndra I (1010–1045 A.D.) is stated by two inscriptions of Uyyakkoṇḍāṉ-Tirumalai to have had a palace at Paḷaiyāṟu (*MER*. 1909, p. 92, para. 43). An inscription of Kōṉērirājapuram says that his paternal aunt, Kundavai-Piṟāṭṭiyār, had also a palace at the same place (*MER*. 1910, No. 639 of 1909), as do also an inscription from Tiruviśalūr (*MER*., 1908, No. 350 of 1907) and yet another from Kōyil-Tevarāyaṉpēṭṭai (*MER*., 1924, No. 249 of 1923). Considering that Kōṉērirājapuram, Tiruviśalūr and Kōyil-Tevarāyaṉpēṭṭai are all very near each other in the neighbourhood of Kumbhakonam and that Uyyakkoṇḍāṉ Tirumalai, though in the Trichinopoly district, is not very much farther away, and considering also that the inscriptions refer to land-grants and the like, it is not unlikely that Paḷaiyāṟu was in the vicinity of the former villages, —that is, near Kumbhakonam. An inscription of Rājēndra I's father, Rājarāja I (985–1013 A.D.), says that there was a Paḷaiyāṟu in the Tirunaṟaiyūr-nāḍu, a subdivision of Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷa-nāḍu and Arumoḻidēva-vaḷa-nāḍu (*MER*. 1909, No. 157 of 1908). The fact that places such as Arukakuḍi, Kaṟkuḍi, Kūrūr, Piḍāraśeri, Tirunaṟaiyūr and Vaṇḍuvāñjeri, are found to have been included in this Tirunaṟaiyūr-nāḍu (*SII*. ii. Intr. 22), confirms us in the conclusion that Paḷaiyāṟu must be looked for near Kumbhakonam. If we now turn to an inscription of Rājarāja I at Tanjore, we find mention of some temple-women who are said to have come from Paḷaiyāṟu, some others from 'the Tenṯaḷi (temple) at Paḷaiyāṟu' and some more from 'the Vaḍataḷi (temple) at Paḷaiyāṟu' (*SII*. ii. 280, 284, 287, 290-2, 294). It would seem to follow that Paḷaiyāṟu had two temples,— Vaḍataḷi, the northern temple, and Tenṯaḷi, the southern.

We shall now turn to information gleaned from literature. One of the hymns of Jñānasambandha is on Tirup-paṭṭichchuram or Paṭṭīśvaram. In this hymn (பாடன்மறை) the hymnalist sings the glories of Śiva, the Lord of Paṭṭīśvaram, Paḷaiyāṟai and Maḻavāḍi (stt. 3 and 10). These three villages must therefore have been in close proximity to one another. Jñānasambandha's elder contemporary, Tiru-Nāvukku-Araśu, in a hymn on Tiru-Āṟai-Vaḍataḷi, mentions that name and, as an alternative, the name Paḷaiyāṟai-Vaḍataḷi (hymn தலையெலாம், stt. 3, 4, 6, 8 and 10). Tradition holds the name Paḷaiyāṟai-Vaḍataḷi to be a compound of two distinct names, Āṟai or Paḷaiyāṟai, and Vaḍataḷi, and that the saint praised in one hymn the deities of the two places. The word *āṟai* being only a variant of *āṟu*, there can be no doubt but that Paḷaiyāṟai is only another name of Paḷaiyāṟu and that the hymns and the inscriptions refer to the same place. Paḷaiyāṟu being in the immediate vicinity of Paṭṭīśvaram, Vaḍataḷi also must be close by. One other fact also has to be remembered, that though only the Vaḍataḷi is spoken of by the hymnalists, there was also a Tenṯaḷi, as is attested to by the Tanjore inscription of Rājarāja I, both of them being called parts of Paḷaiyāṟu.

The commentator on the Tamil grammar, *Vīraśōḻiyam*, who seems to have lived in, or immediately after, the days of Vīrarājēndra (1063–1070 A.D.), the Chola king after whom the work was evidently named (*MER*., 1899, p. 18, para. 50), quotes a stanza which associates a certain Sundara-Chola with the 'City of Paḷaiyāṟai':

இந்திரனேறக் கரியளித்தார்பரி யேழளித்தார்
செந்திருமேனித் தினகரற்குச்சிவ னூர்மணத்துப்
பைந்துணிவேறப் பல்லக்களித்தார்பழை யாறைநகர்ச்
சுந்தரச் சோழரை யாவரொப் பார்களித் தொன்னிலத்தே.

V. 10, comment; Damodaram Pillai's ed., p. 152.

This Sundara-Chola may be Parāntaka II, the grandson of the previously mentioned Parāntaka I, for, of the Cholas who ascended the throne, Parāntaka II is the only one who seems to have been called Sundara. If this is so, the Cholas must have had a palace at Paḷaiyāṟu from long before Rājēndra I. But we cannot be positive on this point, for we know of a brother, a son and a nephew of Vīrarājēndra each of whom was also a Sundara.

We may now pass on to a consideration of some information about a place called Kīḻ-Paḷaiyāṟu or East Paḷaiyāṟu. From statements in two epigraphs it has been concluded that 'Kīḻ-Paḷaiyāṟu and Tiruch-chattimuṟṟam appear to have been the hamlets of one and the same village, Rājarājapuram,' (*MER.*, 1909, p. 103, para. 53),—which Rājarājapuram is mentioned along with some villages which lie between Kumbhakonam and Tanjore. We may, therefore, expect to find Kīḻ-Paḷaiyāṟu and Tiruch-chattimuṟṟam in that region. We know of only one Tiruch-chattimuṟṟam; it stands so close to Paṭṭīśvaram that the two look as if they formed one village. Paṭṭīśvaram, Kīḻ-Paḷaiyāṟu and Tiruch-chattimuṟṟam might all have therefore formed part of the same village; perhaps Paṭṭīśvaram and its vicinity was called Rājarājapuram.

Sundara, the last of the three great psalmodists of Śaiva Siddhantism, has sung a hymn on the deity of Tiruppuṟambiyam (அங்கமோதியோர், st. 1) in which he mentions a place called Āṟai-Mēṟṟaḷi (the Western temple of Āṟai) along with Tiruppuṟambiyam and Innambar (the modern Innambūr). The close proximity of the latter two places to the town of Kumbhakonam suggests that Āṟai-Mēṟṟaḷi also should be in the neighbourhood of that town.

Sēkkiḻār's *Periya Purāṇam* preserves some interesting information about Paḷaiyāṟu. In describing one of Jñānasambandha's pilgrimages, Śekkiḻār says, in his life of that saint, that when he went from Tiruvalañjuḻi to Paḷaiyāṟu he passed by way of Āṟai-Mēṟṟaḷi and Sattimuṟṟam (that is Tiruch-chattimuṟṟam), that a Canopy of Pearls descended from heaven and protected him from the blazing sun till he reached the shrine at Paṭṭīśvaram and that having worshipped there he went on to Āṟai-Vaḍataḷi (stt. 389 399). In the life of Tiru-Nāvukku-Araśu, Śekkiḻār places Paḷaiyāṟu, Tiru-nāgēśvaram and Śattimuṟṟam quite close together (stt. 192, 215), and relates a story of how the temple of Vaḍataḷi, which was then in the hands of the Śramaṇas, was rescued by him for Śaivism with the help of a Chola king (stt. 294–300). Sēkkiḻār's narration makes it seem that the Chola was quite close at hand. If Śēkkiḻār's story preserves accurately a tradition which had come down to him some six centuries from the days of Tiru-Nāvukku-Araśu, we may infer that the Cholas had a palace at Paḷaiyāṟu in even that saint's time. That a Siva temple within almost a stone's throw of the Chola king's palace should have been converted into a temple of the Śramaṇas is an interesting commentary on the religious condition of he Tamil country in the time of Tiru-Nāvukku-Araśu.

The various facts brought together so far show that Paṭṭīśvaram, Paḷaiyāṟu (including Vaḍataḷi, Teṉṭaḷi and Mēṟṟaḷi), Kīḻ-Paḷaiyāṟu and Tiruch-chattimuṟṟam must all have been quite close together indeed.

Let us now look at the geographical facts as we have them to-day. Some four miles to the south-west of Kumbhakonam stands Paṭṭīśvaram on the northern bank of the Tirumalairājaṉ over a mile to the south of the Ariśilāṟu, and, therefore, some two miles to the south of the Kāvēri. Two furlongs to the east of Paṭṭīśvaram and on the northern bank of the Tirumalairājaṉ stands a village called Nuḷaiyūr with an old temple in it, and another old temple stands almost opposite to the former one, on the southern bank of the river, in a village known as Kīḻap-Paḷaiyāṟu. Some furlongs to the south of Paṭṭīśvaram and to the south of that river stands a village called Mēlap-Paḷaiyāṟu, or West Paḷaiyāṟu, but it has no temple. Some little distance to the west of Paṭṭīśvaram stands a village now called Tirumattaḷi or Tirumettaḷi, wherein also is a Siva temple; it is from this temple that the image of Jñānasambandha is taken in procession to Paṭṭīśvaram during the festival of the Pearl Canopy,—a festival celebrating the incident recorded by Śekkiḻār. Some six furlongs to the north of Paṭṭīśvaram stands a village called Śōḻamāḷigai, or the Palace of the Chola. That its name

preserves a historical fact is evidenced by such circumstances as that ruins of old structures may still be traced there, that old Chola coins were often discovered in that village, that immediately to its east lies a hamlet called Āriyap-paḍaiviḍu (the Ārya Cantonment), and immediately to its west lies another hamlet, Pudup-paḍaiviḍu (the New Cantonment), that it stands in the vicinity of Dārāsuram which contains a temple on the construction of which some later Chola kings lavished very large sums of money and that Tiruch-chattimuṟṟam was for long the seat of the spiritual preceptor of the Cholas. But the nearest Malavāḍi is some 25 miles away, near Tiruvāḍi, on the other bank of the Koḷḷidam.

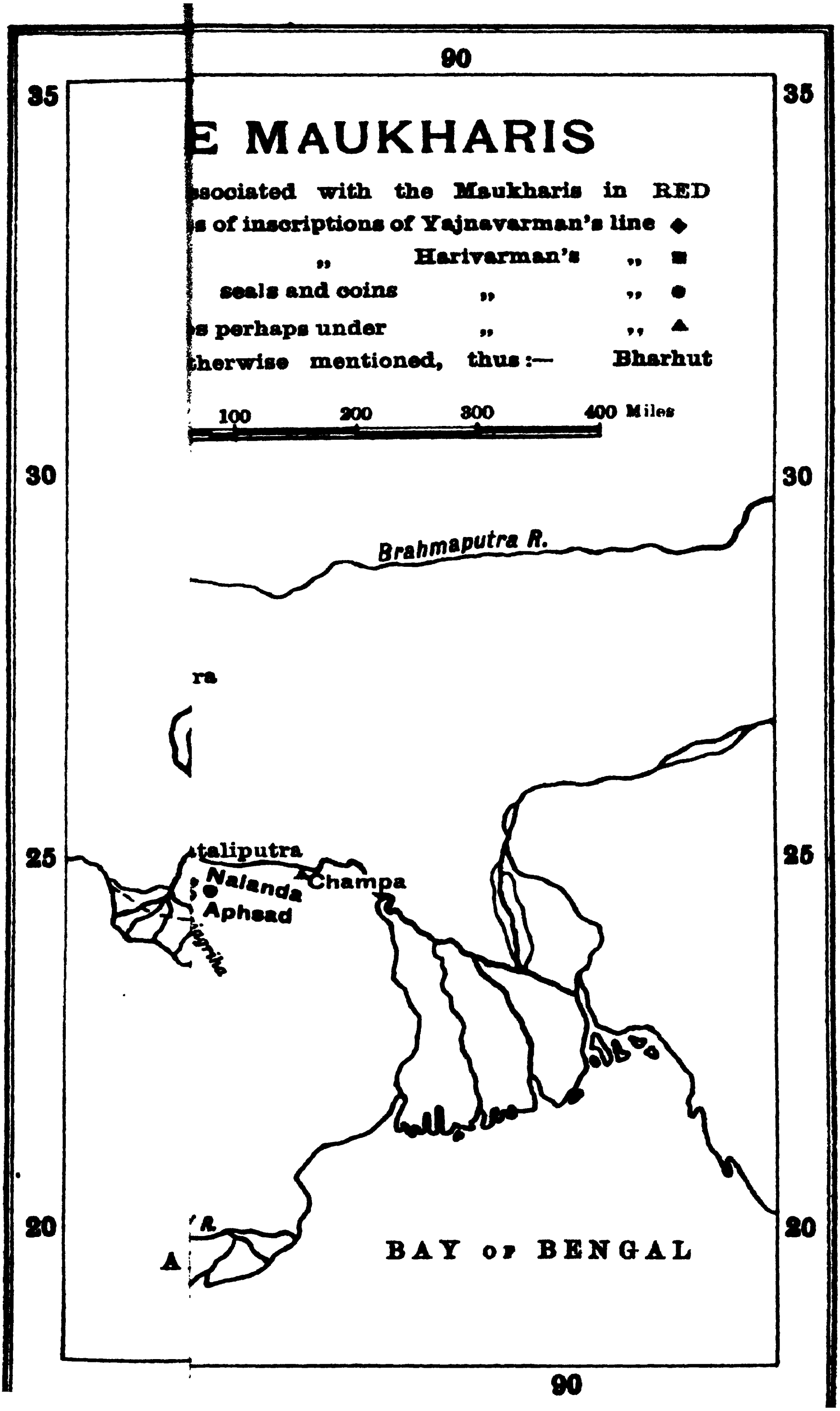
How are we to relate present day facts to the facts elicited from inscriptions and literary works? If we equate the Nuḷaiyūr of the present day to the Vaḍataḷi of the hymns and the inscriptions,—an equation for which we have the basis that Nuḷaiyūr stands on the northern bank of the Tirumalairājan,—we might also identify Kīḷap-Paḷaiyāṟu with Paḷaiyāṟu and Tentaḷi,—an identification for which we might find support from the fact that Kīḷap-Paḷaiyāṟu stands on the southern bank and that tradition and Śekkiḷār speak of Vaḍataḷi as distinct from Paḷaiyāṟu. Against these suggestions must be set three facts,—that, in those days places divided by a river were not usually called by the same name, that no Malavāḍi stands in close proximity to Paṭṭīśvaram and that the place which by virtue of its name and its other associations deserves to be considered the old palace-city is Śōlamāḷigai which lies north of all these villages. We may take it that the modern Tiru-mattaḷi or Tiru-mettaḷi is a corruption of Tiru-meṟṟaḷi and we may identify it with the Āṟai-Mēṟṟaḷi of Sundara's psalm. The modern Mēlap-Paḷaiyāṟu is not Mēṟṟaḷi, for we have no trace of an old temple there and the procession in the festival of the Pearl Canopy starts from the other place, Tiru-mattaḷi. We have inscriptional and literary evidence of the existence of a place called simply Paḷaiyāṟu, but we have no modern village bearing that name. The suggestion has already been made that that Paḷaiyāṟu is none other than the modern Kīḷap-Paḷaiyāṟu. It may also be that the villages now called Śōlamāḷigai, Paṭṭīśvaram, Tiruch-chattimuṟṟam, Nuḷaiyūr, Kīḷap-Paḷaiyāṟu, Melap-Paḷaiyāṟu and Tiru-mattaḷi were all parts of a large unit comprehensively styled Paḷaiyāṟu by the people and Rājarājapuram in administrative records, though the secular structures were perhaps in the northern part of this unit where Soḷamāḷigai now stands.

Which, then, was the river which gave Paḷaiyāṟu its name, the 'old river'? Is it the river which now runs between Paṭṭīśvaram and Mēlap-Paḷaiyāṟu under the name Tirumalairājan? Have we any justification for supposing that Paḷaiyāṟu was another name of the Paḷaṅkāvēri? If so, it might perhaps be possible to connect it with the Palaṅkāvēri of Śivapuram. Would we not, then, be taking the Kāvēri to the south of the Ariśilāṟu?

To one who is actually acquainted with the locality, the narrow stretch of land along which the Kāvēri and a number of its branches flow and the tortuous courses which they take within that narrow strip would seem to suggest that in this strip of country the Kāvēri and its branches must have often changed their courses. Perhaps, river-beds multiplied in this manner, the new beds and the old becoming the rivers which now irrigate the country. Perhaps also the names of the branches changed with the changes of bed, so that the Ariśilāṟu now flows farther north than it did in the days of the Śaṅgam when it found mention in the *Naṟṟiṇai*. It may also be that the Kāvēri flowed originally along what in Jñānasambandha's days was known as the Paḷaṅkāvēri and that some time before him, — we do not know when —it altered its course in such manner that some distance above Tiruvalañjuḻi it deserted its old channel and took a new course,— the present one. This would explain how the Paḷaṅkāvēri appears to the south of Tiruvalañjuḻi and how the Kāveri now runs to its north. If this suggestion is correct, we shall perhaps be able to trace the name Tiruvalañjuḻi to this time and to this circumstance; for, when the river changed its course from the south to the north of Tiruvalañjuḻi it must have gone *valam* of that place, that is, made a *pradakshiṇa* of the intermediate territory in which the temple of Tiruvalañjuḻi stands. Was it because the Kāvēri performed a *pradakshiṇa* round the village and temple of Tiruvalañjuḻi, — that is, Tiru-valam-śuḻi,— that they now go by that name? So striking a phenomenon as that of a river piously

performing the circumambulation of the temple is not likely to have been lost on devotees. Is it the memory of this change of course that is incorrectly preserved in the *sthala-purāṇa* of Tiruvalañjuḷi (see pp. 66 and 67) which seems to speak of the havoc wrought by the floods of the Kāveri and of the disappearance of the river in a huge *bila-dvāra?* If so, was it in the days of Karikālaṉ that the river turned fickle?

The series of questions I have asked and the implicit suggestions I have made indicate really a groping for the truth. To be plain, we do not yet have the material which would resolve our doubts.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